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535.

SIR WILLIAM PENN, Knt.

ADMIRAL AND GENERAL OF THE FLEET,
DURING THE INTERREGNUM;

ADMIRAL, AND COMMISSIONER OF THE ADMIRALTY
AND NAVY,
AFTER THE RESTORATION.

FROM 1644 TO 1670.

By GRANVILLE PENN, Esq.

BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

LONDON:
J. MOYES, CASTLE STREET, LEICESTER SQUARE.

TO THE

BRITISH NAVY;

THE

FOLLOWING MEMORIALS

ARE,

WITH THE UTMOST RESPECT AND ADMIRATION

DEDICATED,

AND WITH ENTIRE CONFIDENCE

COMMITTED,

BY THEIR OBEDIENT SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

6000423450

33.

535.

MEMORIALS

OF THE

PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIR WILLIAM PENN, Knt.

ADMIRAL AND GENERAL OF THE FLEET,
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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
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M.DCCC.XXXIII.

535.

does not lay the succeeding naval generations of this nation under an obligation of much respect, for his prescience or prudence; or of much gratitude, for his anticipated estimate of their skill or valour.

The discordant orthographies of the numerous manuscript documents, and old printed tracts, here assembled, I have reduced to our present standard, after the example of the authors of the Parliamentary History, and other historical compilers. In a repository of antiquarian curiosity, the original spelling ought to be preserved; but, in a work designed for current reading, the uncouthness of unsettled or unskilful orthographies operates obstructively and repulsively to an earnest reader, who is only desirous to collect the matter before him, with ease and convenience to himself.

But, though it is easy to reduce general language to one standard of orthography, it is not always so easy to determine the true historical orthography of proper names; especially, when they have been written differently by contemporary authors. It is not a sufficient rule, to observe how the living representatives of former eminent persons now spell their names

Thus, the present ducal house of *Seymour* has changed, or restored, that well known and unvarying historical name, to *St. Maur;* but, if any author were now to write of Queen *Jane St. Maur*, it would be transgressing against historical orthography; for, history knows no such name. On the other hand, the name so variously written, by Clarendon *Mountague*, by Heath and Evelyn *Montague*, in Pepys' printed Diary and Correspondence *Montagu*, is, in all of these instances, a departure from the *autograph*, and therefore from the true orthography, of the name of the distinguished person to whom those diversities are severally assigned. It would naturally be supposed, that "Pepys' Diary" must present an infallible standard for the correct spelling of the family name of the first Earl of Sandwich; but, that is not the case. The *autograph* of that eminent person cannot be rare, since it was subscribed to so many public orders and warrants during the Interregnum; in these, he signed, in a very distinct hand, "*Edw. Mountagu*,"[1] which orthography of the

[1] If any one should wish to be referred to a specific example of that *autograph*, he will find it in No. 1708 of the Sloane MSS. in the British Museum, where the name "*Edw. Mountagu*" is very distinctly subscribed (as first commissioner for the admi-

name is observed in all the lords' journals after the Restoration. I have accordingly adopted it, though I perceive, that, in a few instances, the erratum *Montagu* has not been corrected.

It will be very evident, that the following work has been drawn up with a view to the naval service; but yet, at the same time, under a full conviction, that whatever can interest the British Navy, must have interest also for every sound and true-hearted Briton.

My young naval reader cannot fail to trace, with professional interest, the most full and complete naval career that, perhaps, exists on record; certainly, the most so of any during the arduous and momentous times in which it was passed. "I feel pretty certain," says "Capt. Basil Hall, that if a young man really "have any talents within him which are "backed by a hearty inclination towards his "profession, and that his character is held "together by a genuine love of independence, "he is in the fairest way to success. If all "these feelings be accompanied by a proper

rnlty, in the absence of the Earl of Warwick with the fleet) to "*Instructions to Capt.* WILLIAM PENN, *captain of the* Assurance "*frigate, and rear-admiral of the Irish squadron,*" dated 2d May, 1648.

" acquaintance with his duty, the most certain " way, not only of calling out his powers, but " of giving stability to his energies and prac- " tical efficacy to all his virtuous resolutions, " is to load him as soon as possible, and as " heavily as possible, with responsible duties, " which are difficult in their execution, and " creditable when well performed. If, also, he " be rightly principled, that is to say, if, while " he acts from a disinterested sense of duty, he " have likewise a correct apprehension of how " much he ought, and can perform single- " handed, and how far he ought to distrust " himself; such a man will either succeed " in life, or secure the next best thing, the " consciousness of having merited success."[1] It would be difficult to find a more apt and corresponding exemplification of the justness of those observations, than in the subject of these Memorials.

Although the collecting and adjusting the numerous articles which compose the following *Documentary Biography* (begun in 1803), has been a work of long interrupted time and labour, I have not been able to give to it all the symmetry of form and connexion which

[1] Fragments of Voyages, &c. First Series, vol. ii. p. 58.

I could wish it to possess; and I greatly fear, that I shall discover, in its printed state, inadvertencies which have eluded my closest attention, in its state of manuscript; nevertheless, with some indulgence from the reader, it will attain the main object sought in its compilation, namely, to compact a lasting body of irrefutable testimony, just and honourable to the memory of Sir William Penn himself, and of the whole naval generation in which he held so distinguished a place.[1]

In company with these Memorials, is reprinted a Tract written by the eminent Sir William Coventry, and published in 1687, entitled, "The Character of a Trimmer," &c.; the cause of which reprint, will appear in the sequel of the present work.[2]

The impression on the title-page, is taken from the office-seal of H. R. H. James Duke of York, as Lord High Admiral.

G. P.

Richmond, December 1832.

[1] One inadvertency, into which I find I have been mechanically drawn in some passages, by the example of Heath and others of our writers, is that of prefixing the particle *Van* to the name of the great Dutch admiral, Tromp; an adjunct of English introduction, and which does not pertain to his name.

[2] This Tract is printed separately; yet, uniformly with the Memorials, in case the reader may think fit to bind it with them.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

PAGE

PREFACE v

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

Birth and Education of Sir William Penn, 1621. Review of the History of the Navy, from 1640 to 1644 1

CHAPTER II.

Service in the Irish Fleet: — Contemporary Naval Affairs, from 1644 to 1650 82

CHAPTER III.

Service in the Mediterranean, from 1650 to 1652 306

CHAPTER IV.

Service in the First Dutch War, 1652, 1653 395

APPENDIXES.

A. Extracts from Smith's Sea-Grammar, 1627 541
B. Extract from Dr. John Wallis's Memoir, 1644 548
C. Remonstrance and Case of George Penn, 1658 550
D. English Attack on the Spanish Armada, 1588 556
E. Dutch Attack on the Spanish Armada, 1639 570
F. Armorial Honour granted to Lieut.-Ad. Tromp, by Charles I., 1642 574
G. Cession of the Honour of the Flag by Holland, 1654, 1662, 1667, 1674 577

PLATES TO VOL. I.

Portrait of Sir William Penn, æt. 45 .... *Frontispiece.*
Portrait of Martin Harpertz Tromp, Lieut.-Ad. of Holland, æt. 42.. *Page* 407

ERRATA TO VOL. I.

Page	*line*	*for*	*read*
97,	2,	and	or
114,	8,	Mannerlyer	Mannerbyer (*Maener Byrr*)
162,	*note*,	Earl	Marquess
192,	*note*,	all	small
428,	5,	as	a

MEMORIALS

OF THE

PROFESSIONAL LIFE AND TIMES

OF

SIR WILLIAM PENN, KNT. &c.

CHAPTER I.

PRELIMINARY CHAPTER.

1621—1644.

Birth and Education of Sir W. Penn—Review of the History of the Navy from 1640 to 1644.

SIR WILLIAM PENN, born at Bristol, and baptised in the church of St. Thomas the Apostle in that city, on the 23d day of April, 1621, was the second and youngest son of Giles Penn, a captain in the navy, and for many years a consul for the English trade in the Mediterranean. Giles was the second son of William, only son of William Penn of Minety in the county of Gloucester, and of Penn's-lodge in the

county of Wilts, who, surviving his son William, died in 1591, and lies buried before the altar in the church of Minety;[1] in which parish he inherited a patrimonial estate, long possessed by his ancestors, but which, soon after his death, was alienated to a branch of the family of Pleydall.

Giles had two sons, between whose ages was a difference of twenty years. His eldest son, George, whom he brought up to commerce, became an opulent merchant in Spain, and resided many years of his life at Seville. His youngest son, William, the subject of these Memorials, he educated with great care, under his own eye, for the sea-service; causing him to be well grounded and instructed in all its branches, practical and scientific, as is shewn by sundry elementary and tabular documents, nautical journals, draughts of lands, observations, and calculations, which still survive.[2] In that age, the royal and mercantile navies were not dissociated as they now are: the royal navy, which was not numerous, increased its numbers on every emergency by taking up into the king's service armed merchants' ships, engaged for the season, or the occasion, many of which were furnished with 28 and 30 guns to defend themselves and their cargoes against the pirates from the Christian and Turkish states, who then roved the Mediterranean and the bay of

[1] Atkyn's Gloucestershire, p. 292.

[2] For a summary of the nautical science of that day, see the last chapter of "A Sea-Grammar," published in 1627 by "Captain Smith, sometimes Gover-"nor of Virginia, and Admiral of New-England." Appendix, A.

Biscay, and came into our own seas, and even to our own coasts. The owners and captains of the ships so taken up by the government, were often employed to command them for the crown; and many of our first great seamen thus passed from the mercantile into the royal service. Thus, also, it was, that William Penn, after serving with his father from a boy, in various mercantile voyages to the northern seas and to the Mediterranean, became a lieutenant in the royal navy, in which noble service he thenceforth passed the whole of his active life. It was, perhaps, the rarity of such an education for the naval profession in that age, that led Clarendon falsely to affirm, that Penn rose to naval command from "a common man;"[1] and a writer quoted by Charnock to state, that he rose from being "a cabin "boy."[2] After serving for some time as lieutenant, his monument records, that he was made captain at the age of twenty-one, or in 1642; but I do not find the name of any ship to which he was commissioned until the summer of 1644, when he was appointed to command the *Fellowship*, of 28 guns, forming a part of the fleet under the command of Captain Richard Swanley, admiral of the Irish seas. It is probable, from the practice of the service of that day, that his first command was in one of the armed merchants' ships employed in the service of the crown.

The period in which he obtained the command

[1] Life, vol. ii. p. 328, 8vo edit. Oxford, 1827.

[2] Naval Architecture, Introduction.

of the *Fellowship*, was the most important and eventful crisis in the history of the English navy. The struggle between the king and the parliament to obtain the power of the fleet, had just been determined in favour of the latter, who, towards the end of the year 1643, had established the Earl of Warwick[1] in the office of lord high admiral, and Captain William Batten in that of vice-admiral, of the navy of England.

As the naval portion of our domestic history during those turbulent times is almost entirely unknown, having been very superficially and very negligently noticed, or rather, having been wholly overlooked and disregarded by all the writers of our civil and political histories, it will be advisable, in tracing the career of a commander whose professional character was formed during those times, to recall briefly to memory, so far as they bear immediately

[1] The annotator to Pepys' Diary has fallen into a considerable error in describing this gallant earl to the reader. Pepys is adverting to the contest for the fleet, in 1642, when the Earl of Warwick was appointed vice-admiral for the parliament; the annotator subjoins, for illustration, "Henry Rich, earl "of Warwick and Holland, beheaded for putting himself in arms to aid "Charles I.:" thus making a compound personage of two brothers. Pepys is speaking of Robert Rich, earl of Warwick, who served the parliament; his brother Henry, earl of Holland, finally served the king, and was beheaded by the parliament for that service in 1648, notwithstanding the intercession of his brother. "Robert was the eldest son of Robert Rich, first earl of Warwick, "(so created, 16 Jac. 1618); Henry, the second son, was created Lord Ken- "sington, 20 Jac., and Earl of Holland, 22 Jac."—(DUGDALE's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 387, 8.) The annotator appears also not to be aware, that Captain William Batten, vice-admiral of England from 1642 to 1647, and Sir William Batten so often mentioned by Pepys, were one and the same person; for he describes the latter only as "a commissioner of the navy, and in 1661 M.P. for "Rochester," which is much the least signal part of Batten's history.

on the sentiments and conduct of the navy of that day, the direct series of events which finally brought the fleets of England into the power, and under the control, of the English parliament.

It is very difficult, even at this distance of time, to advert to the causes of the long contention between King Charles the First and his parliaments, without crossing the opinions, or offending the feelings, of some one or other description of persons amongst us; yet, thus much may be said generally, and cannot be disputed, that during the vacuum of political freedom which subsisted in England in the ages immediately preceding the accession of the house of Stuart, the royal prerogative, unrestrained by any lateral resistance, had swollen to a preposterous bulk; so that, when the progress of civilisation, knowledge, and commercial enterprise, had combined to generate in the nation that sublimated spirit which constitutes a reflective and legitimate spirit of freedom, and when it had begun to enter and fill the vacuum, and to press against the sides of the over-distended prerogative, a mutual sense of uneasiness, followed by a mutual and increasing pressure and reaction, was necessarily produced; and it at length became, perhaps, impossible that the just equilibrium of the two antagonist agencies could be attained, without some severe and violent conflict between their contending principles.

But, when the duties which unite to form the rule of the subject's obedience to a mixed government become dissociated by a disunion of the con-

stituent parts of that government, integrity of purpose will alone urge different individuals to different and contrary sides, according as the force of education, the native complexion of their minds, or various other causes, may incline the bias of their judgments. So that, whilst one man shall be chiefly engaged in a consideration of the allegiance and reverence which he owes to the person of his sovereign, another shall be equally engaged by a sense of the magnitude of the trust under which he feels himself bound to assert the blessing of freedom for the benefit of his posterity. Thus, the finest sentiments of virtue and of honour will impel different persons into opposite and hostile courses; leaving to after-ages the grateful task[1] of rendering equal justice to their memories, and of contemplating with equal honour and esteem the names of Falkland and of Hampden.

The difficulties which honour and virtue have to encounter in making their compulsory election in such distracted times, are feelingly exposed in the excellent speech of Digby, earl of Bristol, in the house of lords, in May, 1642.[2] "Let every particular man," said that noble lord, "consider the "distracted and discomfortable estate of his own "condition. For mine own part, I must ingenuously "profess unto your lordships, that I cannot find out,

[1] Since the above was written, and whilst these pages were preparing for the press, that grateful task has been embraced, and executed with great justice and high feeling, by the noble author of "Some Memorials of John Hamp-"den," &c.

[2] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 717.

" under the different commands of the king and " parliament, any course of caution and wariness, " by which I can promise to myself security. I am " sure I bring with me a ready and obedient heart " to pay unto the king all those duties of loyalty, " allegiance, and obedience, which I owe to him: " I shall never be wanting towards the parliament, " to pay unto it all those due rights and that obe- " dience which I owe unto it. But, in contrary " commands, a conformity of obedience to both is " hardly to be lighted on. The reconciliation must " be in the commanders and the commands, and not " in the obedience, or the person that is to obey. " And therefore, until it please God to bless us " with a right understanding between the king and " parliament, and a conformity in their commands, " neither the kingdom in public, nor particular men " in private, can be reduced to a safe and comfort- " able condition." In no portion of the nation were those conflicting feelings more honestly, more constantly, or more irksomely experienced, than in the navy.

But Lord Clarendon has relieved the historian of that period from the ungrateful and toilsome task of arguing the remote and primary causes of all its troubles, by one short and frank avowal. " I can- " not," says he, " but let myself loose to say, that " no man can shew me a source, from whence those " waters of bitterness we now taste, have more pro- " bably flowed, than from the unreasonable, unskil- " ful, and precipitate dissolutions of parliaments: in

" which, by an unjust survey of the passion, insolence, " and ambition of particular persons, the court mea- " sured the temper and affection of the country; and " by the same standard, the people considered the " honour, justice, and piety of the court; and so " usually parted, at those sad seasons, with no other " respect and charity one toward the other, than " accompanies persons who never meant to meet " but *in their own defence.*"[1] It would necessarily follow from the fact thus admitted, and by such an authority, that the obtaining at length a parliament which should be exempt from similar interruptions, must have been a cause of general joy and mutual gratulation to the great majority of the nation; and that the resentments excited by those vexatious dissolutions would occasion a proportionately strong partiality to be conceived and testified towards that new parliament, so distinguished, strengthened, and secured.

That this was actually the case, is manifested by the concurring testimonies of that time; for when, after the dissolution of the third parliament of his reign, and an interval of twelve years, during which the king declared, " he shall account it presumption " for any to prescribe any time to his majesty for " parliaments,"[2] he called, and dissolved, a fourth parliament, and was at length constrained, in the same year, 1640, to call another parliament; and moreover to give his royal assent to an act by

[1] History of the Rebellion, vol. i. p. 4. 8vo. [2] Ibid.

which he renounced the prerogative he had hitherto so readily exercised, of dissolving it at his pleasure;[1] the utmost interest was awakened in the nation, which contemplated in that great council, denominated in history the *Long Parliament*, an organ equally able and willing to redress every grievance, and whose operation was no longer liable to be abridged in the article of time. And (to use the words of David Hume), "If we take a survey of the "transactions of this memorable parliament during "the *first period* of their operations, we shall find, "that their merits so much overbalance their mis- "takes, as to entitle them to very ample praise from "all lovers of liberty: not only were former abuses "remedied, and grievances redressed; great provi- "sion, for the future, was made by law against the "return of like complaints."[2]

The abolition of the Star Chamber, and the Court of High Commission, are prominent among those merits. It is indeed true, as Lord Clarendon affirms, that the surrender of so material a portion of the royal prerogative as the power of dissolving the par-

[1] 17 Caroli Regis. May, 1641. "That on account of the fears, jealousies, "and apprehensions of divers of his majesty's loyal subjects, that the present "parliament may be adjourned, prorogued, or dissolved, before, &c.: The "present parliament now assembled *shall not be dissolved unless it be by act "of parliament to be passed for that purpose*:—And that the house of commons "shall not at any time or times, during this present parliament, be adjourned, "*unless it be by themselves, or by their own order.*"—(RUSHWORTH, vol. v. p. 264.) This memorable Act, which was the first step in the depression of the crown, became eventually the first step, also, to its restoration, as will hereafter be seen.

[2] Chap. 54.

liament, was "a removal of the land-marks of the "kingdom;"[1] but, so violent a remedy was imperatively called for by the violence of the distemper, as the only practicable means of securing the nation, under the then prevailing counsels, against a repetition of those "unreasonable, unskilful, and precipi- "tate dissolutions," by which the benefit of "land- "marks to the kingdom" had been done away.

It was during those twelve years of the intermission of parliaments, that the great question of *ship-money*, or the legality of the imposition of a tax for the service of the navy by the king's writ alone, produced that clamour in the nation, and that memorable resistance of John Hampden, which has stamped so peculiar a character on the history of that period. The clamour and resistance were not directed against the assessment considered in itself, the reasonableness of which was never disputed; but, against the mode by which it was attempted to be raised, which was no other than an effort of the crown, whilst it suppressed the only constitutional organ through which money may be levied on the subject, to assume, or more properly to usurp, the privilege of the suppressed organ. "When "men," says Clarendon, "heard this payment de- "manded in a court of law as a *right*, and found it "by the judges of the law adjudged so, upon such "grounds and reasons as every stander-by was able "to swear was not law, and so had lost the pleasure "and delight of being kind and dutiful to the king;

[1] History, vol. i. p. 261.

" and instead of *giving*, were required to *pay*, and " by a logic that left no man any thing which he " might call his own, they no more looked upon it " as the case of one man, but the case of *the kingdom*; " nor as an imposition laid upon them by the king, " but by the judges; which they thought themselves " bound, in conscience to the public justice, not to " submit to." Clarendon makes here a distinction, at the expense of the judges, to screen the king, which is neither just nor true; for the judges were only called in to support and confirm the previously devised usurpation of the parliament's exclusive privilege, which device originated, not with the judges, but with the advisers of the king, if not with the king himself.

After having thus conferred on the parliament the power and dignity of *perpetuity*, the king, in the summer of the same year, visited Scotland; where, in the month of October following, he received intelligence of the rebellion which had just broken out in Ireland, on the part of his Roman Catholic subjects in that kingdom: a rebellion which, originating from the most hostile principles of papal policy, aimed at once, and professedly, at the extinction of that system in church and state which had been established on the reformation, and which had raised the nation to so exalted an eminence of power and glory under its late illustrious sovereign, Queen Elizabeth. On the receipt of that intelligence, the king immediately sent an express from Edinburgh, with letters to both houses of parliament, in which he told them:

"That he was satisfied it was no rash insurrection, but a formed rebellion, which must be prosecuted with a *sharp war*. The conducting and prosecuting of which he wholly committed to their care and wisdom: and depended upon them for carrying it on."[1]

This was a further delegation of power and prerogative, and, at the same time, a public declaration of confidence on the part of the crown: which could not fail, both to augment considerably that regard for the parliament which was already so prevalent in the nation, and, at the same time, to accustom the people to witness the parliament in the exercise of executive power. In consequence of this message from the king, and the extreme urgency of the occasion, the two houses passed a resolution, on the 4th of November, "for providing a convenient "number of ships for the guarding the sea-coasts of "Ireland:" and they issued their ordinance to the lord high admiral, the Earl of Northumberland,[2]

[1] Clarendon's Hist. vol. ii. p. 230. fol.: p. 301. 8vo.

[2] "After the death of the Duke of Buckingham, lord high admiral, in "1628, the office of lord admiral was put into commission. The commissioners "were,

William [Juxon], Lord Bishop of London, lord high treasurer.
Robert Earl of Lindsey, great chamberlain.
Edward Earl of Dorset, chamberlain to the queen.
Francis Lord Cottington, chancellor of the exchequer.
Sir Henry Vane, kt., comptroller of his majesty's household.
Sir John Coke, kt., secretary of state.
Sir Francis Windebanke, kt., secretary of state.

"On the 21st of May, 1638, this commission ceased, on Algernon Earl of "Northumberland being constituted admiral, custos maris, captain-general "and governor of the fleet."—Rymer's Fœdera, xx. p. 235.

to provide ships for that purpose with all possible expedition. But, about the same time, the lord admiral received instructions, transmitted to him directly from the king, concerning the providing of ships for guarding the Irish coasts, and keeping the narrow seas. On the receipt of these second instructions, the earl felt himself embarrassed, and addressed himself to the parliament, desiring to receive direction from them, in what manner he should act with respect to his majesty's personal orders in that particular.[1] Notwithstanding the censure which some writers[2] have cast on this application of the lord admiral to the parliament, it was a reference founded in reason and regularity; for, if the king, who was absent, had "wholly committed "to the care and wisdom of the parliament the "charge of conducting and prosecuting a sharp war "against the rebels in Ireland, depending upon them "for carrying it on;" if, under that commission, the parliament had already issued their orders to the heads of departments; and if an after-order was sent immediately from the king on points already dis-

[1] "9th November. The lord admiral acquainted the house of lords, that "he had command and direction from his majesty, 'to send some ships for 'the guarding of the Irish coasts, and also some ships to keep the narrow 'seas; because his majesty conceived, that the rebellion in Ireland is fomented 'from abroad, and that they expect some supply from foreign parts;' and "his lordship desired to have the directions of the parliament herein, what "to do. Whereupon it was ordered, to have a conference with the commons "about it."—NALSON, vol. ii. p. 622.

[2] WARNER's Hist. of the Rebellion in Ireland, vol. ii. pp. 104, 5.

posed of by a previous ordinance of the parliament; it certainly behoved the superior officer, thus perplexed by double instructions, to ask direction from those whose orders he had in the first instance been required to obey. And it would be absurd to contend, when the king had in so unreserved a manner committed the conduct of the Irish war to the parliament, that he constructively withheld from them the disposal of a naval force; because, without the power of disposing of ships for the guard of the Irish seas, and for the transporting and convoying troops and ammunition, it would have been impossible for the parliament to prosecute any war at all, much more that "sharp war" which the king's own words pointed out to them as indispensably necessary. And it is not true, as Warner states, that the parliament "assumed the supreme dictatorship" in this matter; they were plainly acting by royal delegation: and, therefore, his remark, that in "other times" such a direction from the sovereign to the lord high admiral would have been deemed a sufficient warrant, and a disobedience to it a misdemeanour of no small degree, however true with relation to those other times, is wholly irrelative to the particular time when that direction was issued. This collision, therefore, between the king's and the parliament's orders to the lord admiral, must be regarded as a proximate notice of the impending storm; which notice was speedily followed by an event that caused the storm to break, and to deluge the whole kingdom.

On the 25th of November of that year, the king returned to London from Scotland, and again recommended to the parliament to take the affairs of Ireland under their particular care and consideration. But, on the 4th of January following, 1642, the unhappy monarch was instigated to execute that most fatal act of his reign, the entering the house of commons, and demanding, by name, the arrest of five of its members on a charge of high treason; by which measure he gave to the parliament which he had so eminently distinguished and empowered, a just and unevasive cause for complaining to the nation of an outrage on their privilege and dignity, committed by the king in person. This desperate and irretrievable step hastened forward the dreadful crisis which was already too fast approaching. The most moderate persons conceived indignation from the proceeding; and those who secretly meditated mischief, availed themselves of it for exasperating the public mind. Murmurs and tumults rose and spread throughout the capital; so that the king judged it prudent, five days after, on the 9th, to withdraw himself privately from London, and to retire to his palace of Hampton Court.

The sensation thus excited increased in intensity. Two days after the king's departure (on the 11th), "The committee, with the Lord Kimbolton, and the "five members, about one of the clock, took water "at the 3 Cranes, attended with 30 or 40 long-boats, "with guns, flags, &c., and a great number of citizens

" and seamen in other boats and barges, and so " they were conveyed to Westminster: some of the " Train'd-Bands marching at the same time by land " to be a guard about the two houses."[1] In acknowledgment of this display of zeal, " divers sea-captains, " masters of ships, and mariners, were called into " the house of commons, to whom the speaker de- " livered this by the command of the house:

" That this house did take *special* notice of the " performance of this service of theirs, to this house, " and to the commonwealth, and gave them thanks " for it, and desired them to communicate the same " to the rest of the seamen and mariners."

" The speaker afterwards acquainted the Train- " bands, ' That the house had taken notice of the ' expression of a great deal of affection, and that he ' was commanded to give them thanks for it.'"[2]

But when the fervour of that day's excitement had subsided, and reflection had resumed its power, the naval portion of that large and promiscuous multitude deemed it incumbent on them to declare and define, both to the parliament and the country, their separate object in the demonstration they had made; and the following Protestation was accordingly drawn up, and published to the world.

[1] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 484. [2] Nalson, vol. ii. p. 838.

" THE SEAMEN'S PROTESTATION,

Concerning their ebbing and flowing to and from the Parliament House at Westminster, upon Tuesday the 11*th day of January,* 1641-2:

Ordered by the Vice-Admiral[1] *to be published and set forth throughout the whole kingdom, as a manifestation of the Seamen's loyaltie to their King, and love to their Country.*

" Our appearance above the bridge being a passage the histories of England cannot exemplifie, may cause our good intents and well meaning in the various apprehensions of most men to be misconstrued; for the speedier and more exact remedie of which, we have all resolved at length thus to declare ourselves:

" First, as in dutie we ought, we protest to our great lord and master, his most excellent majestie, that it was an act of our own free and voluntarie disposition; not all, nor any of us, called or invited by the parliament or citizens of London; but came as well to protect Whitehall, had his majestie been there, as the parliament house. But a rumour being spread amongst us, that that great council was in feare to be dissolved, and knowing too well the happinesse of this kingdome consists in their sessions; remembering the words of Archbishop Cranmer, a martyr of ever-blessed memory, which were, 'Wo be to England when there is no more parliament!' we, seeing and hearing the whole city to be in complete arms, presently turned fresh-water soldiers; and, with as sudden expedition as we could, attended by water their progress thither, and joined our thunder of powder with

[1] " Sir Robert Mansel was vice-admiral of England, and of known and " great reputation with the seamen."—(CLARENDON, History, vol. i. p. 675, 8vo.) And the king himself bore testimony, " that his courage and integrity " were unquestionable." He lived at Greenwich, and was then aged.—*Ib.*

the city muskets, at their entrance into the house (the temple of our safety), to the terror, we hope, of all papists, and the land's enemies; who wish for nothing more than the dissolution of both houses. Whose harmony (if they proceed) will be to our perpetual good, and their sudden confusion.

"We, who are always abroad, can best tell no government upon the earth is comparable to it; especially, for the keeping a crown upon a king's head; for the procuration of the subjects' loyaltie, and unfeigned fidelity to their monarch; for the flourishing of traffique and merchandizing (this kingdom's right hand): the continuation of all which is, was, and must necessarily be, by parliaments.

"Witnesse the heavie and lamentable distractions in France, Spain, and Germanie, for want of them or the like government.

"Long, therefore, may they flourish. In vain is it for us to keep the narrow seas, if some go the way to lose the land. This confusion is that alone which glads the hearts of our enemies, and makes them fat with laughter; while we sit and sit, and effect nothing: yet, although the conception is long, the birth will be the nobler, and that which Rome, with all her curses, shall not blast, we mean, the firm establishing of our Protestant religion; in defence of which chiefly, we display our colours on the seas, and expose each drop of our blood we have to hourly danger; and all in behalf of our good and most gracious king, who is himself the defender of our faith.

"Now, to the citie we manifest ourselves, and the occasion of our conflux, although we are a sort of people in this commonwealth, which, by the preciser sort of you, are defined but little better than atheists; and therefore should breed more wonder, that we should stickle for religion. Be pleased to understand; although we have no churches, we say our prayers as well as you; and the same God you have at shore, is ours at sea: whom we will serve, although not so decently

as we would, being for the most part of our daies restrained from a church, to dwell upon the seas for your better securitie. For, be it well known, your safety consists in ours: your churches, aye and your houses too, would quickly fall and be in the dust, should we let pass those who long to prey upon your lives and fortunes. But, for our religion, king, and country, we do, and will, advance our colours against the world. And for a confirmation to you all of our true hearts, we have all protested in this manner:

"*I*, A, B, C,

"Do protest before Almighty God, to maintain, with my dearest life and blood, the Protestant religion as it was established in the days of Queen Elizabeth: to acknowledge Charles, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland: to stand for the privileges of parliament: utterly from my heart to abhor all poperie, and popish innovations.

So HELP ME GOD!"

"Now, it may appear to you all, the main and chiefest cause of our gathering together: we, who are used to tempests, never stood in fear of a greater than this on land. That great vessel, the parliament-house, which is so richly fraught with no less value than the price of a kingdom, is fearfully shaken, and in great danger. Rome has rocks, and Spain quicksands, to swallow her up. Now, what remains, but that on our knees we send up our prayers to that GREAT PILOT of heaven and earth, who steers the world with his finger; that he would protect and defend her, to his own glory, and our comfort: so shall our king be safe and firm in his throne, while his religion flourishes; and his subjects peacefully and joyfully live smiling under his scepter; to the eternal disgrace and shame of those, who have and would intend to subvert our proceedings."

"London, printed by B. A. 1642."

This effusion of maritime eloquence, spoke the genuine sentiments of the great body of the navy; which sentiments continued unaltered, though subjected to a variety of external circumstances, from that time until the restoration of the crown.

But, in the present distracted state of the metropolis, the king returned no more to Whitehall. On the 21st, the houses petitioned the king that they might be informed what proof there was against the five members? The king's answer was not calculated to allay the ferment: viz. "That as he once "conceived that he had ground enough to accuse "them, so now his majesty finds as good cause "wholly to desert any prosecution of them."[1] For, if his ground for an accusation of high treason was so exceedingly slight and equivocal, it only aggravated in a reverse proportion the offence of his outrage on the house of commons. Finding, therefore, that the line of concession had now lost all efficacy, because his last action had inspired a conviction that it resulted only from a policy of present expediency, he proceeded, by different removals, from Hampton Court to York,[2] at which place he arrived

[1] RUSHWORTH, vol. v. p. 491.

[2] "A note of his majesty's several removes, from the time of his leaving "London, until his arrival at York, 1641-2.

Jan. 10. From White-Hall to Hampton Court.
12. To Windsor.
Feb. 9. Back to Hampton Court.
10. To Greenwich.
11. To Rochester.
13. To Canterbury.
16. Thence to Dover, with the Q. and Princess of Or.
23. Queen and princess embarked for Holland.
25. King returns to Canterbury.

on the 19th of March. In the meantime, on the 2d of March, the parliament had passed the following order:

"*Order for the speedy rigging of the Navy.*

Die Mercurii, 2 Martii, 1641-2.

"The lords and commons, in this present parliament assembled, having received advertisement of extraordinary preparations made by the neighbouring princes, both by land and sea; the intentions whereof have been so represented, as to raise an apprehension in both houses, that the public honour, peace, and safety of his majesty and his kingdom cannot be secured unless a timely course be taken for the putting of this kingdom into a condition of defence at sea, as well as land; it is therefore ordered, by the lords and commons in parliament assembled, that the Earl of Northumberland, lord high admiral of England, do forthwith give direction and order, that all and every the ships belonging to his majesty's navy, which are fit for service and not already abroad, nor designed for this summer's fleet, be with all speed rigged and put in such a readiness, as that they may soon be fitted for the sea. And that his lordship do also make known to all masters and owners of such ships as now are in or about any the harbours of this kingdom, and may be of use for the public defence thereof, that it will be an acceptable service to the king and parliament, if they likewise will cause their ships to be rigged, and so far put in readiness, as they may at a short warning set forth to sea upon any emergent

Feb. 26. To Greenwich, where he sent for the P. of Wales and D. of York.
28. Thence to Theobalds.
March 3. To Royston.
7. To Newmarket.
March 14. To Huntingdon.
15. To Stamford.
17. To Newark.
18. To Doncaster.
19. To York."

Rushworth, vol. v. p. 484.

occasion; which will be a means of great security to his majesty and his dominions."[1]

The earl, at this juncture, being prevented by severe illness from taking the command of the fleet in person, a new anxiety arose, respecting the hands to which so important an arm of the state should be confided. The king immediately nominated Captain Sir John Pennington to be vice-admiral, and ordered him to take the command. But the parliament entertaining strong grounds of jealousy and mistrust of that commander, had previously engaged the earl, as lord admiral, to devolve that authority to the Earl of Warwick.

"10th March, 1641-2. The house, according to a former order, went to the settling of the list of this summer's fleet."

"*List of the Navie Royall and Merchant-Ships; the Names of the Captains and Lieutenants; their Men and Burdens, proposed for the Guard of the Narrow Seas and for Ireland. Printed, April* 1642.

		Lieutenants.	Men.	Tons.
1	The *James*, (the Right Hon. the Earl of Warwick, vice-admiral)	Master Slingsby..	260	875
2	*St. George*, William Batten, captain	Mr. Wm. Smith..	260	792
3	*Rain-bow*, Sir John Mennes, captain	Mr. Lutten	260	721
4	*Reformation*, Sir David Murray, captain	Mr. Stansby	260	731
5	*Victory*, Capt. Fogge, captain	Mr. Fogge	240	742
6	*Henrietta Maria*, Capt. Hatch, captain	Mr. Watts	250	723
7	*Unicorn*, Capt. Frenchfield, captain	Mr. Sommerton..	250	767
8	*Charles*, Capt. Swanley, captain	Mr. Darey	250	810
9	*Vantguard*, Capt. Blith, captain	Mr. Blith	250	751
10	*Entrance*, Capt. Owen, captain	Mr. Bowen	160	539
11	*Garland*, Capt. Slingsby, captain	Mr. Walters	170	767
12	*Lyon*, Capt. Pryse, captain	Mr. Hill	170	602

[1] Rushworth, vol. v. p. 558.

		Lieutenants.	Men.	Tons.
13	*Antelope*, Capt. Burley, captain	Mr. Willeby	160	512
14	*Mary Rose*, Capt. Fox, captain		160	321
15	*Expedition*, Capt. Wake, captain		100	301
16	*Greyhound*, Capt. Wheeler, captain		50	126

MERCHANT-SHIPS.

1	The *Martine*, Capt. Geo. Martaine, captain	Mr. Hackinger	210	700
2	*Sampson*, Capt. Ashly, captain	Mr. Andrew	180	600
3	*Caesar*, Capt. J. Jordan, captain	Mr. Norton	180	600
4	*London*, Capt. John Stephens, captain	Mr. Pomeroy	180	600
5	*Unicorn*, Capt. Edward Johnson, captain		143	475
6	*May-Flower*, Capt. Peter Andrews, captain		121	450
7	*Bonaventure*, Capt. Geo. Swanley, captain		120	400
8	*Prosperous*, Capt. Wm. Driver, captain		120	400
9	*Hercules*, Capt. Mover, captain		150	350
10	*Paragon*, Capt. Leonard Harris, captain		105	350
11	*Hopeful Luke*, Capt. Lee, captain		105	350
12	*Golden Angel*, Capt. Walker, captain		105	350
13	*Exchange*, Capt. Lucas, captain		89	325
14	*Mayden-head*, Capt. Lewton, captain		90	300
15	*Providence*, Capt. William Swanley		81	271
16	*Jocelyn*, Capt. Partridge, captain		60	200

H. M.'S SHIPS FOR THE IRISH SEAS.

1	*Swallow*, Capt. Tho. Kettleby		150	360
2	*Bonaventure*, Capt. Henry Stradling		160	557

MERCHANT-SHIPS.

1	*Discovery*, Capt. John Brokhaven		144	380
2	*Ruth*, Capt. Robert Constable		120	400
3	*Employment*, Capt. Tho. Asley		132	440
4	*Peter*, Capt. Peter Stroung		81	270
5	*Pennington*, Capt. Joseph Jordan		36	135
6	*Fellowship*, Capt. Tho. Colle		87	290
7	*Mary*, Capt. Wm. Capel		30	103
8	*John*, Capt. John Thomas		15	50

"The question was propounded, whether this house should approve of Sir John Pennington, as he is here listed. Then the question was put, Whether this question should be now put, or no; and it went with the negative."

" Resolved, upon the question, That Captain William Batten shall be approved of, as he is here listed.

" That Captain John Minnes shall be approved of.

" That this house doth approve of Captains, Fogge, Hatche, Frenchfield, Swanley, Blith, Slingsby, Foxe, Waike, Wheeler, Owen, Stachin, Kettleby,[1] (afterwards deserted, and impeached of high treason, 11th October, 1642), and Stradling.

" That this house doth not approve of Captains, Sir David Murray, Price, Burleigh.

" That the lord admiral shall be desired by this house, that the commander-in-chief of this summer's fleet, under his lordship, may be the Earl of Warwick.

" That Sir H. Vane do carry unto the lord admiral the list of those commanders that are not allowed of by this house, and desire his lordship to supply others in the place of those, and to send the names of them to the house with all convenient speed."[2]

On the 24th of March, the lords petitioned the king " to remove Sir John Pennington from being " commander of the fleet." To which petition the king replied, " That he saw no reason why he " should give way to the alteration; and therefore " cannot, in honour and justice, appoint any other " for that service than Sir John Pennington, of whose

[1] CLARENDON, (History, vol. i. p. 679, 8vo.) says, " The parliament " quickly disposed of two other honest captains, Kettleby and Stradlin (whom " they could not corrupt), who guarded the Irish seas; and got those ships " likewise into their service." Yet we find in RUSHWORTH (vol. v. p. 777), that in an answer of the house of commons to the king's message of the 13th of August, 1642, they complained, " That Capt. Kettleby the admiral, and " Sir Henry Stradling the vice-admiral, of the ships which were directed to lie " upon the coast of Ireland to annoy the rebels, &c., are both called away from " that employment, by his majesty's command."

Lords' Journals.

"ability and integrity his majesty hath had so long "and good experience."

On receiving this answer from the king, the lords sent it down to the commons; with a desire, that both houses should join in a petition to the king, that the Earl of Warwick might command in chief. Accordingly, on the 28th, the two houses transmitted to the king, at York, the following letter, which they caused to be enclosed to the Lord Keeper Littleton:

"TO THE KING'S MOST SACRED MAJESTY.

"May it please Your Majesty,

"The lords and commons in this present parliament assembled, having found it necessary to provide and set to sea a strong and powerful navy, for the defence of this kingdom against foreign force, and for the security of your other dominions, the charge whereof is to be borne by this commonwealth;[1] and taking notice of the indisposition of the

[1] It may be pertinently remarked, that the word "commonwealth" was not a revolutionary term (as we now speak) in its origin, but a term of our ancient polity; and was used by our early writers in the same general sense in which Cicero uses the words *res publica* in that memorable passage where he says: "Placet esse quiddam in re publicâ præstans et regale; esse aliud auc-"toritatis principum partum ac tributum; esse quasdam res servatas judicio "voluntatique multitudinis"—(*De Repub.* lib. i. cap. 45): and he thus defines the term; "Est res *publica*, res *populi*; populus autem non omnis hominum "cœtus quoquo modo congregatus, sed cœtus multitudinis juris consensu et "utilitatis communione sociatus."—(*Ib.* cap. 25.) "I would have, in a com-"mon-wealth, something pre-eminent and regal, something acquired by, and "assigned to the authority of chiefs, and some things reserved for the judgment "and will of the multitude.—A common-wealth means the weal of the people; "but by the people, I do not mean every concourse of men however assembled, "but the collection of a number associated by consent of right, and communion "of utility." The use of the word commonwealth, in the parliament's letter to the king, is not therefore to be understood in any sense offensive to the king, or opposed to kingly government; as the term was afterwards abusively employed.

lord admiral, which disables him at this time from commanding the fleet in his own person, did therefore recommend unto his lordship the Earl of Warwick (a person of such quality and ability as in whom they might best confide) to supply his lordship's room for this employment. And understanding that your majesty hath since signified your pleasure concerning that command for Sir John Pennington; we do hold it our duty to represent unto your majesty the great danger and mischief the commonwealth is likely to sustain by such interruption: and therefore do humbly beseech your majesty, that the noble person recommended by both houses of parliament for this service may no longer be detained from it, out of any particular respect to any other person whatsoever."[1]

In answer to this requisition, his majesty, on the 31st of March, sent the following letter to the lord keeper:

"To our trusty and well-beloved counsellor, Edward Lord Littleton, keeper of our great seal of England.

"Right trusty and well-beloved counsellor, we greet you well. We wonder both at the form and matter of the enclosed paper ye sent us (in the name of both houses of parliament, in yours of the 28th March), it being neither by way of petition, declaration, or letter; and, for the matter, we believe that it is the first time that the houses of parliament have taken upon them the nomination or recommendation of the chief sea-commander. But it adds to the wonder, that Sir John Pennington being already appointed by us to that service upon the recommendation of our admiral (which is so well known that none can be ignorant of it), and no fault so much as alleged against him, another should be recom-

[1] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 546.

minded to us. Therefore, our resolution upon this point is, that we will not alter him whom we have already appointed to command this year's fleet; whose every way sufficiency is so universally known: the which we are confident our admiral (if there shall be occasion) will make most evident, against whose testimony, we suppose, our parliament will not except. And although there were none yet appointed, or the said Sir John Pennington (through some accident) not able to perform the service, yet the men of that profession are so well known to us (besides many other reasons) that (our admiral excepted, because of his place) recommendations of that kind would not be acceptable to us."

"Given at our court, at York, the last of March, 1642."[1]

"On hearing this answer, the two houses required "the Earl of Northumberland to depute the Earl of "Warwick to command in chief; which he con- "sented to do, 'because (he said) it would be for 'the safety of his majesty and the whole kingdom:' "and they enjoined the Earl of Warwick to under- "take the charge, to which order he readily sub- "mitted."

If any additional evidence were wanting to demonstrate the indiscretion, or more properly the infatuation, which at that time governed in the king's councils, it would be found in the tone of this reply to the joint remonstrance of the two houses, in this crisis of affairs, combined with the undisguised notification of the king's mind, in thus peremptorily challenging the chief command of the fleet for Sir

[1] RUSHWORTH, vol. iv. p. 548.

John Pennington, to the exclusion of every other commander. The king, indeed, said truly, that this was the first time the houses of parliament had taken upon them to recommend the chief sea-commander; but then, it was also the first time that the kingdom had ever been placed in such a position as the present. For we must remember, that "the land-"marks of the kingdom had been removed," and that the king himself had been a party in their removal; and therefore, that the ground which would have served him for reprehension, had those landmarks still been standing as before, could no longer afford him the same support after they had been displaced. And we must further remember, that it was at this very time that Clarendon himself wrote that memorable testimony in a letter to the king, then on his progress to York: "Your majesty well "knows, that your greatest strength is in the hearts "and affections of those persons who have been the "severest assertors of the public liberties."[1]

But Clarendon's History, though it enters largely into the contest between the king and the parliament for obtaining the power of the fleet, offers nothing to explain the motive of the parliament's objection to Sir John Pennington, which motive was their governing principle in all that contest. It was not that Clarendon was ignorant of the motive; for, in "Some "Heads of an Answer to some Particulars in the "Declaration of the House of Commons, &c.," drawn

[1] Dated March 9—15, 1642: State Papers, vol. ii. p. 139.

up in 1647,[1] he adverts to it as one of the complaints against the king, which it is plain was never silenced in the nation, nor in the naval service; but he was sensible how ill it would have served the cause which his History was avowedly written to advocate, to introduce it in its proper place, and he has therefore excluded it from his record. His only plea for the omission is virtually contained in his declaration, "I undertook this difficult work with the king's "approbation, and by his encouragement, and *for "his vindication*;"[2] and certainly, nothing vindicatory of the king would have been found in the insertion. But then, Clarendon acknowledges, by that same declaration, that he was not writing history, but pleading specially on a royal brief; for he says, "that the king sent to him his own memorials, or "those which by his command had been kept, and "were perused, and *corrected by himself*."[3] As, therefore, from whatever cause, that noble and learned writer has been guilty of the omission, it is necessary, in justice to the naval service of that period, to state fully the fact which rendered Pennington insuperably objectionable, both to the parliament and the navy, for the post in which the king was so earnestly anxious to establish him.

Sir John Pennington, who was advanced in years when the king strove to invest him with the chief command of the navy, was an officer of great experience and honour, and had been vice-admiral to the

[1] State Papers, vol. ii. p. 394.

[2] History, vol. ii. p. 627. 8vo. 1720. [3] Ib. vol. iii. p. 70.

Earl of Northumberland in 1636, who knew him well. "Sure," says Clarendon, "Sir J. Pennington was a "very honest gentleman, and of unshaken faithful- "ness and integrity to the king." No one will contest the fact of Pennington's loyalty to his sovereign, nor did the parliament make it any charge against him; but it was a loyalty so unbounded and so alarming in the actual crisis of the nation, and which had already manifested so unqualified a devotion to his sovereign's will, to the exclusion of every other rival and co-ordinate consideration, that it was impossible for the parliament, with common caution, prudence, or consistency, or with common fidelity to their trust, not to be guided by it in the disposal of the chief naval command, and not to resist his appointment with all the influence they were able to exert, as the following exposition, presented in the progress of the impeachment of the Duke of Buckingham, in 1626, will fully demonstrate.

"King James the First, about the twenty-second year of his reign, had passed a promise to the French king's ambassador, the Marquess d'Effiat, for affording to the French king an aid in ships. In execution of this promise (which had not been fulfilled in the lifetime of James), Charles, in the year 1625, the first year of his reign, appointed the *Vantguard*, of the navy royal, and the seven following armed merchant-ships, for that service; viz.

The *Great Neptune*, Sir Ferdinando Gorge, captain.
The *Industry*, 450 tuns, James Moyer, capt.
The *Pearl*, 540 tuns, Anthony Tench, capt.
The *Marygold*, 300 tuns, Thomas Davies, capt.
The *Loyalty*, 300 tuns, Jasper Dare, capt.
The *Peter and John*, 350 tuns, John Davies, capt.
The *Gift of God*, 300 tuns, Henry Lewen, capt.

This fleet, under the command of Captain Pennington; in the *Vantguard*, admiral, was ordered to proceed to the coast of France; an assurance having been previously signified, that this force was intended to be used against Genoa, and should not be employed against Rochelle, or any of the Protestants then in insurrection in France. The ships arrived at Dieppe; where Pennington received orders from the lord admiral (the Duke of Buckingham) and Secretary Conway, by which he was commanded to deliver up the ships into the hands of such Frenchmen as his Christian majesty should appoint; and specially enjoining him not to desert his charge. These orders were delivered to him by the French ambassador, the Duke de Montmorency, who urged him with earnestness to receive a body of French troops on board, and immediately to join with him in reducing the revolted Protestants in Rochelle. Pennington, after much dispute, resolutely declared, although tempted with great promises in money, besides a royal pension, 'That without an express and clear warrant, he would not surrender nor discharge a man of his company.' On this refusal, the French admiral's secretary declaring Pennington and his officers to be traitors to their king and country, the whole body, soldiers and mariners, grew into a fury and tumult; they weighed anchor, and set sail for England, saying, that they would rather be hanged at home, than surrender the ships, or be slaves to the French and fight against their own religion.

"This spirit Pennington did not oppose; but when the fleet came back to the Downes (about the end of June, or beginning of July, 1625), he informed the Duke of Buckingham of all that had passed, assuring him, 'that the mariners would rather be hanged, than return again to France; and that all the captains and their companies utterly refused the service, and protested against it, although tempted with chains of gold, and other rewards.'

"By the artful management of the Duke of Bucks, the

fleet was induced, under insidious assurances, to return to Dieppe about the 20th of July, where, on the 27th, the commanders of the seven armed merchant-ships expressed, in writing, the reasons why they still declined quitting their respective ships; among which reasons they say: 'Because their ships being fortresses of this kingdom, and the delivery of them over into the hands of a foreign prince, without good warrant, concerneth even their very lives; that they might have a warrant under the great seal of England, before they should be bound to deliver them.' The lord admiral, finding his warrants and orders unable to obtain obedience without an express and immediate mandate from the king, he moved the king, then at Richmond, to write an order to Pennington, on the 28th of July, 'charging him and commanding him to deliver the *Vantguard*, and all her furniture, into the hands of the Marquess d'Effiat, and require the seven merchant-ships to do the same; with instructions, in case of backwardness on their part, to compel them, *even to sinking*.' Upon receipt of this order, Pennington forthwith delivered up the *Vantguard* into the absolute power of the French king; and acquainted the rest of the fleet with the effect of his majesty's letter and command, demanding and requiring them also to deliver and put their ships into the power of the French king accordingly. The captains and masters of the said ships refused to obey that order, and prepared to be gone, and weighed anchor; but Pennington, after holding a conference on shore with the Marquess d'Effiat, returned on board the *Vantguard*, and firing at his own ships, obliged them all to bring to, and yield themselves to his disposal. And a few days after, the whole fleet were surrendered up and assigned to the French king; excepting the *Great Neptune*, commanded by Sir F. Gorge, who, detesting the transaction, and defying the force of Pennington, persisted in quitting the port of Dieppe, and returned in safety to the Downes;"

"more brave (observes Coke) in running away from "this abominable action, than charging into the "midst of an enemy;"[1] and certainly not less loyal in heart, for this act of disobedience, than Pennington for his implicit obedience to the royal command. Burchett, who wrote in the spirit of a cavalier of the times, thus endeavours to uphold Pennington in this transaction: "this, Captain Pennington, with a true "English heart, refused to do; but receiving a positive "order under the king's sign-manual, he was at "length *forced to comply.*"[2] It will be generally thought, that "the true English heart" was better displayed by Sir F. Gorge than by Pennington.

"Mr. Glanville, who managed this article of the "charge against the Duke of Bucks, observed: 'If 'the losing a fixed castle belonging to the king be "an high offence, then the actual putting of a ship "royal of the king's into the hand of a foreign prince, "which is a moveable and more useful castle and "fortress of the realm, must needs be held a greater "offence.'"[3]

"Sir John (says Ludlow) received a letter from

[1] "Detection of the Court and State of England," &c., vol. i. p. 195. By Roger Coke, Esq., a grandson of Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke. He was educated at Cambridge, where he became well versed in several parts of learning, and wrote a treatise against Hobbes's Leviathan. Of his historical work here cited, he himself says: "This treatise, I suppose, will displease two sorts of "men, whom I will never take care to please: one, who exalts the divided will "of the prince above his royal capacity in governing by the constitutions and "laws of the kingdom; the other, those which are impatient under regal "government, and the constitutions of this kingdom."

[2] Naval History, p. 369.

[3] RUSHWORTH, vol. i. pp. 175, 322—334.

"the king, signed 'Charles Rex,' which was afterwards found by the parliament amongst his papers, requiring him to dispose of those ships as he should be directed by the French king; and if any should refuse to obey those orders, to sink or fire them. The king's commands were put in execution accordingly; and by help of those ships the French became masters of the sea (before Rochelle)."[1] Coke, who holds the character of "an active partisan and apologist for the king,"[2] yet, as a just and faithful historian, truly observes, that "the king laid the foundation of an unhappy reign before he became king, by engaging to assist the French king with a fleet against the reformed in France, which he did;" and he gives, correctly, the substance of the king's letter to Pennington;[3] but we are indebted to the noble author of the recent "Memorials of Hampden" for the letter itself, which is as follows:

"CAROLUS REX.

"Pennington, these are to charge and command, immediately upon sight hereof, that without all difficulty and delay you put our former commandment in execution for the consigning of your ship under your charge, called the *Vantgard*, into the hands of the Marquess d'Effiat, with all her equipage, artillery, and munition; assuring the officers of the said ship whom it may concern, that we will provide for their indemnity; and we farther charge and command you, that you also

[1] Memoirs, p. 4.

[2] Essay on the Character and Reign of Charles I. &c. Preface.

[3] Detection of Court and State, &c., vol. i. p. 194.

require the seven merchant-ships, in our name, to put themselves into the service of our dear brother the French king, according to the promise we have made unto him; and, in case of backwardness or refusal, we command you to use all possible means in your power to compel them thereunto, even unto their sinking; and in these several charges see you fail not, as you will answer to the contrary at the uttermost peril, and this shall be your sufficient warrant. Given at our court at Richmond, the 28th of July, 1625.

"To our trusty and well-beloved John Pennington,
Capt. of our ship called the *Vantguard*."[1]

Lord Nugent truly remarks, that Pennington's "was a hard position;" but, it is in hard positions that characters are revealed. The noble lord subjoins; "a copy of his high-minded protest still remains among Lord St. Germain's papers," but his lordship has not printed it in his Appendix; the omission, however, is of little consequence, as Pennington rendered his own high-minded protest altogether nugatory, by acting contrary to its import. It is evident that Charles was prepared to expect that "backwardness or refusal" might be the immediate consequence of his command, in that particular portion of his navy; and from thence it is manifest, what its effect must necessarily have been on the feelings of the whole naval service.

It is not to increase censure on the memory of the unfortunate and misguided monarch that I enforce these testimonies, but solely to render justice to the

[1] Vol. i. Appendix A to p. 100.

naval service of that day; a justice, which Clarendon has endeavoured to withhold from it, and successfully until now. He tells us, that Pennington expressed to the king, "that himself stood in the "parliament's disfavour and jealousy:—which was "true," he adds; yet he has abstained from exposing the ground of that truth: thus, unfairly leaving the parliament and navy liable to the imputation of a groundless and unjust prejudice against that officer, in order that he might not inculpate his royal client; and postponing the province of historian, to that of a retained counsel; and in truth, his whole history, notwithstanding its eloquence and ability, is a capricious mixture of these two characters, sometimes stating what as an advocate he should omit, and sometimes omitting what as an historian he was bound to relate.

Hume has a remark on that transaction, which is one of the many evidences of his entire ignorance of the naval affairs of that period. "The care which "historians have taken to record this *frivolous event*, "proves (says he) with what pleasure the news was "received by the nation;" but the care of historians to record the event, was of itself a demonstration that the event was not frivolous.

The feelings which that former conduct of Pennington had inspired in 1625, had been recently revived and confirmed, by a demonstration of a continuance of the same disposition in that commander in 1641, in his conveying safely to France, in obedience to the king's order, the Lord Digby, whom

the parliament had just accused of high treason, and on whom they had fixed the charge of advising the king to enter the house of commons; of which rescue of Digby, they complained to the king in a Declaration sent by them to his majesty, in that same year, by the Earls of Pembroke and Holland. Clarendon observes, that the landing Lord Digby in France was "the greatest objection of the parliament against "Pennington." It was the greatest they expressed, but the former necessarily guided and governed their judgment and determination. So far, indeed, was the parliament from reproaching Pennington with his obedience to the king's warrant in this last case, that, after his examination before them, in which he frankly avowed the fact, professing at the same time to be wholly ignorant of the service on which Digby was employed, he was called into the house, on the 26th of January, and was by the speaker told, "that the "house perceived his free and ingenuous dealing, "and conceived very well of him." Nevertheless, they could not endure that a commander, who had already delivered up one English squadron to a foreign power and had fired on his own ships, in obedience to a royal mandate and contrary to the admonition of his own breast, should, in such a crisis, have the entire navy of England committed to his power and dangerous discretion.

Such had been the unequivocally manifested disposition of the commander whom the parliament now objected to see placed at the head of the navy, and in whose room they urgently solicited the king to

appoint the Earl of Warwick. No one can deny, that they had good support from reason, both for their objection and for their recommendation; for, the Earl of Warwick was in great estimation with the seamen, from his possessing in an eminent degree the qualifications requisite for discharging with professional honour and efficiency the duties of their chief commander. His equally-balanced attachment to all the three estates of the kingdom, was well known to be in entire accordance with that declared in the preceding document of sea-rhetoric; the attachment of the seamen towards him is equally shewn in the following surviving specimen from the same school.

"*Exceeding Joyful Newes from the Narrow Seas, Dover, and the Irish Seas; being a true and exact Relation of the victorious proceedings and renowned Exploits performed by the R^t. Hon^ble Rob^t. Earl of Warwicke, lord admirall of H.M.'s Navie Royall in this Expedition*, 1642.

"*Sent from H.M.'s royall ship called the* Rainbow, *May the 9th, by Master John Philips to his brother in Thames Street. London, printed for John Webb, May* 12, 1642.

"Such are the fine wits in this our age (right gentle and courteous reader), that nothing can pass current without controll, except it be rare in conceit or excellent for art. But this following 'Relation,' which I will describe to thee, although it be not set forth in eloquent speeches, yet it is reported for certain and credible tydings, amongst many men of great estimation.

"There hath been, these many years, divers ships scouting upon the narrow seas from foreign countries with false and

counterfeit colours; and great preparations there is made by neighbouring princes, both by sea and land; so that this kingdom cannot be secured, unless a timely course be taken both by sea and land.

"But, for the security of this kingdom, the lords and commons in this parliament assembled, taking it into serious consideration, gave order to the Right Honorable the Earl of Northumberland, lord high admirall of England, forthwith to give effectual direction that all and every the ships belonging to his majestie's navie, which are fit for service, and not already abroad, be with all speed rigged: It was likewise ordered, that the Earl of Warwicke should go vice-admirall over his majestie's navie royall, whose very name maketh his foes to tremble, even the proudest, hautiest, and most insulting'st enemy against Great-Britain:

"For, Warwicke's valour
Doth their rage appease:
The name of WARWICKE,
Scours the narrow seas."

"He went himself in person in the royall ship called the *James*, and hoisted up sail, with most puissant courage, toward the narrow seas: who, being past the pier of Dover, he espied some certain ships not far distant from him; who making towards them, they sailed away with all speed, not daring to withstand him, so that our greatest enemies dare not strike sail near Britain's coast. He hath scoured most part of the narrow seas; and hath sent two of H.M.'s ships to the coast of Ireland, so that there cannot any relief come to the rebels, without the hazarding of ships, goods, and all therein; which maketh glad the sorrowful hearts of that kingdom, being likewise comfortable tydings to the Protestants in this island.

"And, touching the noble earl's discreet wisdome in ordering and disposing of H.M.'s fleet, both for security of

H.M.'s royall person, the quiet and content of the honourable houses of parliament: he, with a prosperous gale ploughed the vast bosom of the narrow seas; the curling waves seemed proud to bear his dancing vessells. So, vertuous honour filled his courageous heart, and prompted him to chase the Turkish pyrat from our shore: Now, merchants may send forth their wealth securely, and never dread the robbers of the sea."

In the actual state of things, and under the new and estranged relations in which the king and the parliament unhappily stood towards each other, the latter were certainly justifiable in preventing Pennington from acquiring the power of the fleet; and as the king held firm to that officer, and would not so far meet the feelings and desires of the parliament as to nominate any other, although he declared that "the men of that profession were so well known "to him" that he needed no recommendation, the parliament were finally warranted in taking the decided step to which he thus compelled them, of confirming the Earl of Warwick in the vice-admiralty, and in the chief command of the fleet.

Clarendon has given an account of the manner in which actual possession of the fleet was obtained for the parliament by the Earl of Warwick, in which account Pennington's irresolution, and his entire incapacity for acting in a great occasion, are eminently conspicuous. The Earl of Warwick's report, for the information of the parliament, is altogether as simple and clear, as Clarendon's is prolix and confused.

"MR. PYMME,

"Before this shall come to your hand, I make no doubt but Mr. Nicholas, of the house of commons, hath made both houses a relation of what hath passed here, since I received his majesty's letters for the discharging me of the command of the fleet wherewith I was intrusted: how I called a council of war, and acquainted them with his majesty's letter, and likewise with the ordinance of parliament sent from the houses for me to continue my charge.

"I confess it was a great strait that I was in, between two commands that had so much power over me: But when I consider the great care which I have ever observed in the parliament of this kingdom, for the good and safety of the king and kingdom, and every man's particular in them; and that they are that great council by whose authority the kings of England have ever spoken to their subjects; and likewise that the trust of this fleet, for the defence of his majesty and the kingdom, was committed to me by them; and knowing the integrity of my own heart to his majesty and parliament; I resolved not to desert that charge committed to my trust, wherein God (blessed be his name for it) hath made me hitherto so successful; but to continue, until I shall be revoked by that authority that hath intrusted me with it.

"Which having declared to my council of war, all of them unanimously and cheerfully took the same resolution, excepting the rear-admiral, Sir John Mennes, Captain Fogge, Captain Burley, Captain Slingsby, and Captain Wake; all which five refused to come upon my summons, as having no authority over them; and got together, round, that night, to make their defence against me; only Captain Burley came in and submitted to me. Hereupon, in the morning, I weighed my anchors, and caused the rest of the ships so to do, and came to an anchor round about them, and besieged them;

and when I had made all things ready, I summoned them. Sir John Mennes and Captain Fogge came in to me, but Captain Slingsby and Captain Wake stood out. Whereupon I let fly a gun over them, and sent them word I had turned up the glass upon them; if in that space they came not in, they must look for me aboard them. I sent to them by my boat, and most of the boats in the fleet. Their answer was so peremptory, that my masters and sailors grew so impatient at them, that (although they had no arms in their boats at all, yet God gave them such courage and resolution, as, in a moment) they entered them, took hold of their shrouds, and seized upon those captains, although armed with their pistols and swords; struck their yards and topmasts, and brought them both to me. The like courage and resolution was never seen amongst unarmed men, so as all was ended without effusion of blood; which I must attribute to the great God of heaven and earth only; who, in the moment that I was ready to give fire on them, put such courage into our men to act, and so saved much blood.

"I hope the parliament will think of some course for our indemnities, and especially the officers of the navy; and principally for the surveyor of the navy (Captain William Batten), my vice-admiral, a very able and good man.[1] For myself, I doubt not but they that put me in this employment will preserve me for serving them faithfully.

"I pray you, sir, be a means to Sir Robert Pye and Mr. Green, that some money may be sent us (for it hath been often promised, but we hear not of it), the weather continuing stormy so long together, that we spend our masts

[1] CLARENDON says: "an obscure fellow, but a good seaman; unknown to "the navy till he was two or three years before made surveyor." How he could have been a good seaman, and made surveyor of the navy, and at the same time an "obscure fellow, till then unknown to the navy," is one of the questions that arise out of the many contradictions into which Clarendon's prejudiced affections and temper have driven that great but imperfect man.

and topmasts, or some detriment or other falls upon us daily; so that we are in great extremity for want of money.

"Thus, having nothing else to trouble you for the present, only that you will be pleased to acquaint your house of commons with our proceedings here, I bid you farewell; and rest

"Your assured friend to serve you,

"WARWICK."[1]

"From on board his majesty's ship the *James*, in the Downs, July 4, 1642."

A letter of thanks was ordered to the earl, and the officers and seamen of his fleet.

This determination of that great controversy determined, at the same time, the sequel of the king's measures. His majesty left York; and, proceeding southwards, on the 25th of August, he erected his standard at Nottingham: from which period, and by which public demonstration, a state of vexatious and irreconcileable altercation was at once converted into a state of positive hostility, in which each belligerent strove, by every admitted maxim of warfare, to anticipate the measures of his adversary.

Still, however, a chance of an accommodation appeared to offer itself in the negotiation at Oxford; from which I shall abstract those points only which relate to the navy, because on these the whole of that negotiation really and fundamentally rested.

"[2]An overture for a treaty had been made in November 1642, but by reason of the unexpected action at Brentford, no further progress was made therein till towards the end of

[1] RUSHWORTH, vol. iv. p. 752. [2] RUSHWORTH, vol. v. p. 164, &c.

January 1642-3. Then the parliament resolved to send propositions to the king, and named four lords and eight commoners commissioners; to whom his majesty gave his safe conduct, and they proceeded to Oxford. At the head of the commission was the late lord admiral, the Earl of Northumberland.

" On the 1st of February, the parliament's propositions were read to the king.

" The king, in his answer of the 3d of February, substituted other propositions, which were received at a conference, Feb. 6.

" I. That his majesty's own revenue, magazines, towns, forts, and ships, which have been taken and kept from him by force, be forthwith restored unto him.

" VI. And to the intent that this treaty may not suffer interruption by any intervening accidents, that a cessation of arms, and free trade for all his majesty's subjects, may be first agreed upon."

" 28th Feb. The parliament agreed to a cessation, under certain restrictions and limitations; and with the express condition, ' That this cessation shall not extend to restrain the setting forth or employing any ships for the defence of H. M.'s dominions.'

" 6th March. The king agreed to the parliament's condition, but added the following clause: ' Provided that his majesty be first acquainted with the particulars, and that such ships as shall be set forth be commanded by such persons as H. M. shall approve of.'

" The parliament disapproved of this alteration; and persisted, as their ultimatum, in repeating the original terms of the condition for a cessation, omitting the provision introduced by H. M.; and they sent instructions to their commissioners, directing them, after H. M. had ratified the cessation, to proceed to the treaty, beginning with the king's first proposition respecting ships, &c.

" 23d March. The king, instead of agreeing to the cessation, observed: ' H. M., to the end that a full cessation might be at sea as well as at land, and he might be secured that the ships proposed to be set forth for the defence of H. M.'s dominions should be employed only to that end and purpose, desired that they might be put under the command of persons to be approved of by H. M., which is not consented to by these articles; but their former, to which H. M. excepted, strictly and entirely insisted on: by which (besides that part of hostility remains) the conveying of any number of forces from any part to any other, by that means, remains free to them.

" 24th March. The parliament sent authority to their commissioners to treat on the first two propositions for four days, notwithstanding that the cessation is not agreed upon by H. M.; and, on the 27th, the commissioners delivered this answer:

" To the part of your majesty's first proposition, which concerns your ships, we humbly give this answer: ' That the ships shall be delivered into the charge of such a noble person as your majesty shall nominate to be lord high admiral of England, and the two houses of parliament confide in; who shall receive the same office by letters patent, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*, and shall have power to nominate all subordinate commanders and officers, and have all other power appertaining to the office of lord high admiral; which ships he shall employ for the defence of the kingdom against all foreign forces whatsoever, and for the safeguard of merchants, securing of trade, and the guarding of Ireland, and the intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the rebels; and shall use his uttermost endeavour to suppress all forces which shall be raised by any person without H. M.'s authority, and consent of the lords and commons in parliament; and shall seize all arms and ammunition provided for supply of any such forces.'

"28th March. The king replied: 'H. M. expects, that his own ships be forthwith delivered to him, as by law they ought to be: And when he shall please to nominate a lord high admiral, it shall be such a noble person against whom no just exception can be made; and if any shall be, H. M. will always leave him to his due trial and examination; and grant his office to him by such letters patent as have been used. In the mean time, H. M. will govern the said admiralty by commission, as in all times hath been accustomed. And whatever ships shall be set forth by H. M. or his authority, shall be employed for the defence of the kingdom against all foreign forces whatsoever, for the safeguard of merchants, securing of trade, and the intercepting of all supplies to be carried to the rebels; and shall use their utmost endeavours to suppress all forces which shall be raised by any person whatsoever against the laws and statutes of the kingdom; and to seize all arms and ammunition provided for the supply of any such forces.'

"FALKLAND."

"29th March. The commissioners rejoined: 'We humbly desire your majesty would be pleased to give a more full answer to the clause for 'the ships to be delivered into the charge of such a noble person as your majesty shall nominate to be lord high admiral of England, and the two houses of parliament confide in, who shall receive the same office by letters patent, *quamdiu se bene gesserit*:' And to that clause, 'To suppress all forces which shall be raised by any person without your majesty's authority, and consent of the lords and commons in parliament.'

"Whereunto if your majesty shall be pleased to give your assent, we conceive we are then directed by our instructions, humbly to desire your majesty to nominate such a person to be lord high admiral of England, that we may forthwith certify both houses of parliament, that thereupon they may

express their confidence in that person, or humbly beseech your majesty to name another; and that in case such noble person, who shall be appointed to be lord high admiral of England, shall be removed, or shall die within the space of three years next ensuing, that the person to be put in the same office shall be such as both houses shall confide in.

"NORTHUMBERLAND.

"W. PIERREPOINT. J. HOLLAND.
"W. ARMYN. B. WHITELOCK."

"By additional instructions of the same date, 29th March, the parliament instructed their commissioners: 'If H. M. shall please to agree upon the two propositions, concerning his ships, &c., you are then authorised fully to agree and conclude upon those propositions, according to your instructions.' And at the same time they transmitted to them, to be humbly presented by them to H. M., 'their reasons, why they cannot agree to the articles of the cessation as altered by H. M.' That respecting the ships was as follows: That, 'To demand the approving of the commanders of the ships, is to desire the strength of one party to the other, before the difference be ended, and against all rules of treaty. To make a cessation at sea, would leave the kingdom naked to those foreign forces which they have great cause to believe have been solicited against them, and the ports open for such supplies of arms and ammunition as shall be brought from beyond the seas: But, for conveying any number of forces by those means from one part to another, they shall observe the articles of the cessation, by which that is restrained.'

"4th April. His majesty sent a message to the parliament concerning the cessation, in which he thus expressed himself respecting the ships: 'His majesty did not demand the approving of the commanders of ships only with reference to his present right, for then he would have demanded, not the approbation of the commanders, but the ships themselves.

But this demand was, and is, a thing most necessary to H. M.; for, the setting out of the present fleet is pretended to be for the defence of H. M.'s dominions, and which cannot conveniently suffer any alteration in commanders, if the cessation and peace should be fully and speedily agreed upon. And therefore 'tis most necessary for H. M. both to know the designs, and to approve of the commanders, who will not be so fitted to be altered when once they are sent out.

" ' H. M. cannot see how a cessation at sea between H. M. and his subjects should leave his kingdom naked to foreign forces (a continuance of war may well do it); and H. M. is willing to concur in the resistance of all such, of what kind soever; and expects, that during the cessation, the conveying of all forces, from one part to another by sea, for the assistance of the Earl of Essex, be restrained; which both houses seem now to consent to, which was not at all expressed in the former articles.'

" 5th April. ' His majesty conceives his former answer, of the 28th March, concerning his ships, to be so full, that he can add nothing thereto in any part of it: H. M. conceiving it all the justice in the world for him to insist, That what is by law his own, and hath been contrary to law taken from him, be fully restored unto him, without conditioning to impose any new limitations upon H. M., or his ministers, which were not formerly required from them by law; and thinking it most unreasonable to be pressed to diminish his own rights himself, because others have violated and usurped them.'

" FALKLAND."

" 8th April. The houses extended the term of the treaty twenty days; and instructed their commissioners ' to insist with H. M. for his positive answer, within that period, to the two first propositions;' and they direct the commissioners to let H. M. know, that ' They observe in H. M.'s answer, concerning the ships, not only a denial to all the desires of

both houses, but likewise a censure upon their proceedings.' Accordingly,

"10th April. The commissioners thus represented to the king: 'By instructions yesterday received from both houses of parliament, we are commanded humbly to insist upon the desires of both houses expressed in the former papers concerning the ships: And both houses of parliament do observe in your majesty's answer, not only a denial to all their desires, but likewise a censure upon their proceedings.

"NORTHUMBERLAND.
"W. PIERREPOINT. JOHN HOLLAND.
"W. ARMYN. B. WHITELOCK."

"To which representation the king thus replied:

"14th April. 'H. M., for the present, forbears any further answer touching his ships, desiring first to receive the answer of both houses to his message of the 12th of this month: But H. M. will, howsoever, before their departure hence, give them a further answer.

"FALKLAND."

"H. M. had, on the 12th, sent a message to the parliament, wherein, as if nothing had hitherto been discussed by way of treaty, he signified to them, that 'as soon as he shall be satisfied in his proposition respecting the restoration of his ships, &c., and as soon as some other points which he sets forth shall be complied with, he will disband his armies and meet his parliament; and he expressed his confidence, that if this offer is rejected, the whole world will justify him from the imputation of not desiring peace, or of prolonging the desolation of the kingdom.'

"On the 15th April, the king sent his last answer to the commissioners in these terms: 'H. M. gave so clear a reason to justify what he insisted upon in the point of the ships, that he cannot but wonder to see the same again pressed on him:

and yet, both the reason he gave left unanswered, and no other reason opposed to weigh against it. His majesty's end in this, was not to lay any censure upon their proceedings; but it being necessary, to the matter in question, for H. M. to say what had been done, and the matter of fact being such as, it seems, could not be repeated but it must appear to be censure, H. M. did not think himself bound to be so tender of seeming to censure their proceedings, as, by waving his own true reasonable justifications, to leave his own naked and exposed to a general censure. And H. M. hopes, that since they esteem his saying, 'That they have taken his ships from him contrary to law,' to be a censure, that they will either produce that law by which they took them, or free themselves from so just and unconfutable a censure, by a speedy and unlimited restoration: Upon which demand, his majesty's care of his ancient and undoubted rights do oblige him to insist. And when his majesty shall think fit to make an admiral; as near as can be, he shall be such an one against whom no just exception can be made; and if any shall be offered, he will readily leave him to trial of the laws.'"

"The parliament's commissioners (says White-"lock) had intimation of the king's message before "it was sent, and dissuaded the sending of it, as "that which they feared would break off the treaty; "but the king was nevertheless persuaded by his "advisers to send it; which the houses no sooner "received, than they sent positive orders to their "commissioners immediately to return."

"Many," says Clarendon (who was one of the king's council at Oxford), "were of opinion, that the "king was too severe in this treaty, and insisted too "much upon what was his own by right and law."

The commissioners had strongly pressed the king to meet that proposition of the parliament in which they urged his majesty "to nominate such a noble "person to be lord high admiral as the two houses "of parliament might confide in.—And they themselves," continues Clarendon, "seemed to believe, "that if the king would have condescended so far "as again to nominate the Earl of Northumberland "(whom he had discharged), it would have made "so great a division in the houses, that the treaty "would have been continued, and his majesty been "satisfied on all the other propositions; and Mr. "Pierrepoint, one of the ablest of them, declared "his persuasion, 'that by that condescension the 'parliament also would be satisfied on all other 'points.'" How grateful the condescension would have been to the majority of the parliament, may be collected from the terms in which they expressed their sense of that noble earl's dismissal from his high office. In "a Declaration of the Lords and "Commons now assembled in Parliament, concerning "the miserable distractions and grievances this "kingdom now lieth in," &c., they thus concluded: "And last of all, the Earl of Northumberland put "from the place of high admiral; a man so eminent "in all qualifications of honour and sufficiency; so "necessary for the state at this time, when so many "ships are at sea, and the kingdom in so much "trouble and distraction, that there can hardly be "named a more mischievous effect of wicked counsel, "or dangerous preparative to future confusion, than

" bereaving the state of the service of so noble and " virtuous a person as he is. The consideration " whereof enforceth both houses to declare, that they " cannot think the kingdom in safety, nor themselves " to have discharged the trust which lies upon them, " till they have done their uttermost, by all fit ways, " to procure that office to be restored, whereby the " command of the ships, which are the walls of the " kingdom, may again be settled in the charge of " that noble lord."[1]

The reasons for inducing the king to comply with the desire of the two houses in this particular, were deemed so weighty by his own wisest counsellors, that Clarendon himself undertook the office of endeavouring to persuade his majesty to yield to them; and thus it happened, that the great vital questions, of domestic peace or civil war, were brought at length to turn upon the single hinge, of the appointment to the chief command of the navy of England. But the king was not to be moved; either to abandon Pennington, or to accept again the Earl of Northumberland, although that noble earl's loyalty to his sovereign was only balanced, in no degree overruled, by his concern for the public liberties of the kingdom; as Clarendon himself distinctly testifies. And here, truth and justice demand that it be spoken; that as in the reign of King John, so likewise in that of the unhappy and misguided Charles, the peerage of England supplied some of

[1] Rushworth, vol. iv. p. 756.

the most strenuous and wisest assertors of the common liberties; thus proving, that in that mediatory order of the state, those liberties, when endangered, will ever find guardians prompt to defend them, equally against royal as against popular excesses.

But I cannot now content myself with this general observation. It is rendered necessary that Northumberland should be distinctly vindicated against the very recent censures and insinuations of the noble author of "Memorials of Hampden;" in which I must frankly confess, that I do not recognise that noble writer's general justice, and must as frankly affirm, that he is unsupported in every point. "Northumberland," he says, "was not a man to "be confided in by any party. It was not perhaps "that he was treacherous by design; but he was "naturally timid; and his high station in the country, "and the over-wrought estimate which he had formed "of his own importance, and perhaps of his own "abilities too, made him reluctant to bind himself "to the fortunes of any party, and gave him a "tendency to a course of trimming and intrigue, in "times when no man's interest or reputation could "stand but in close and faithful connexion with one "of the *two*[1] great parties in the state. He had put

[1] The noble lord seems to forget, that besides the "two great parties" for privilege and for prerogative, a third party was early and manifestly breeding and stirring in the state, namely, the military usurpation; for, as Coke justly remarks (vol. i. pp. 372, 3), "Cromwell's qualities were observed and feared "by some both of the king's and parliament's party, before they came to be

" himself, with the navy of England, at the disposal " of the parliament; but, when called upon to join " the rendezvous of the fleet, he *fell sick*, and retired " to Alnwick. The Earl of Warwick was instantly " named by ordinance to succeed him."[1] In opposition to this noble writer, I do not hesitate to assert, that no man in that age exhibited a greater moral courage, or a closer consistency with the principles which he first declared, than the Earl of Northumberland. Before the meeting of the Long Parliament, in May 1640, when appointed general of the army raised against the Scots, which measure he totally and avowedly disapproved, he thus wrote to the Earl of Leicester: " It grieves my soul to be involved in " these councils; and the sense I have of the miseries " that are like to ensue, is held by some a disaffec- " tion in me; but I regard little what those persons " say." And in October of the same year, he thus wrote from Sion to the same earl: " Never man " hath been so used as the king our master, in all " the counsels that have been given him this war by " those persons whose judgments he only trusted for " the governing of these affairs. But I hope he now " finds it; and will, by his wisdom, prevent being

" publicly known and put in execution:" and by no one more than by Clarendon himself, whose withdrawal from the parliament was certainly accelerated by the personal hostility his rebuke to Cromwell, in committee, had roused in the heart of that dangerous enemy. Clarendon declares (Life, vol. i. pp. 88, 89. Oxon. 8vo), that he did not do so with passion, but so declares every passionate man; he could not rebuke without exasperating.

[1] Vol. ii. p. 205.

"drawn any more into the like mischiefs."[1] Strafford was his lieutenant-general, and the king did not alter his measures. Northumberland, from the first, openly and undisguisedly avowed his reverence for the king's person and dignity, and his hostility to the king's counsels and counsellors; and the parliament respected his reverential sentiment, because they were sure it would never draw him over to side with the counsellors whom he so strongly and honestly condemned. Whitelock specially marks his decision, by naming him singly, and as by eminence, when he says; "the Earl of Northumberland, and the lords "who continued with the parliament."[2] He committed himself as entirely to the parliament by appointing Warwick his vice-admiral, as he could have done by joining the fleet in person; and so the king thought, for he immediately discharged him from his office of lord admiral. Warwick was not appointed, on this occasion, by an "ordinance of parliament," but by a commission from Northumberland; Lord Nugent confounds his vice-admiralty, with his appointment of lord high admiral in the following year. The insinuation, that Northumberland shammed sickness, is really unworthy of the noble memorialist, unless it can be shewn, that it is impossible for a commander to fall ill, when on the point of assuming his command. We know, that in the opening of the great naval campaign of 1653, the gallant

[1] SYDNEY Letters and Memorials of State, &c., pp. 652 and 661. See also COLLINS's Peerage (Earl of Northumberland).

[2] Page 65.

Blake was taken ill when the fleet was to put to sea, and was left ashore. We know, that on a former occasion Northumberland was interrupted in his command by illness, without an injurious surmise left on record against him;[1] and it is therefore just and reasonable to believe, that the system of his health rendered him liable to similar interruptions. The parliament so entirely confided in him, that they employed him as their first commissioner in all their most important negotiations with the king, at Uxbridge, at Oxford, and in the Isle of Wight. It is especially noticed by Whitelock, one of the commissioners, that in the opening of the negotiation at Oxford, "the Earl of Northumberland read "the propositions to the king with a *sober and stout* "*carriage;* and being interrupted by the king, he "said smartly, 'Your majesty will give me leave to 'proceed.' The king answered, 'Ay, ay;' and so "the earl read them all through."[2] This was the demonstration of a moral courage, and decision of character, incapable of co-existing with a spirit of timidity or trimming; a spirit, which that illustrious nobleman never betrayed in a single instance, though he ever made a fearless exposure of his own firm and conscientious moderation. To him the parliament confided, exclusively, the care of the king's

[1] "The progress of the king's advance for Scotland was exceedingly "hindered by the great and dangerous sickness of the Earl of Northumber-"land, the general, whose recovery was either totally despaired of by the "physician, or pronounced to be expected very slowly."—CLARENDON, vol. i. p. 144. 8vo.

[2] Page 67.

children; and when the young Duke of York had been artfully extricated from his custody, they so entirely acquitted him of being a party in the plot, that they still left the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess Elizabeth under his care.[1] And in this open and avowed line, of reverencing the king, but resisting his offensive measures and advisers, he persevered, with unvarying reputation, until the king's death, when he retired from public life, respected and honoured in his privacy. As to the vanity ascribed to him by the noble memorialist, I find no trace of any over-wrought estimate, or any estimate at all, of his own importance or abilities. The only real estimate I have found, is that given by the parliament in the passage above quoted from their "Declaration," &c.; and, most assuredly, a higher

[1] CLARENDON says: "The parliament *would not suffer*, nor did the earl "desire, that the rest (of the royal children) *should remain longer under his* "*government*. Whereupon they were removed to Penshurst, a seat of the "Earl of Leicester's in Kent." So wrote Clarendon, absent, abroad, and ill-informed; but Whitelock, who was present in the scene of action, and a principal actor in that scene, records thus:

"29th April, 1648. Both houses passed a declaration upon the Duke of "York's going away: 'That whereas upon a former endeavour of his to 'escape, which was prevented, the duke by his letter to the houses acknow-'ledged his errors, and promised not to attempt the like for the future, they 'declared, That they conceived the Earl of Northumberland not to be farther 'accountable for the duke. The commons ordered the allowance to the Duke 'of York to be taken off, and an increase of allowance to the Duke of Glouces-'ter; and, that the Earl of Northumberland *may remove him and his sister* 'to Sion-House, or Hampton-Court.'" It is probable, that Northumberland requested, in consequence of the Duke of York's escape from his vigilance, to be relieved from further responsibility respecting so delicate a charge, and that the royal children were therefore removed to the Earl of Leicester's, at Penshurst. The stanch Clarendonians may derive some caution from this contradiction.

estimate of the importance of any one of its members has never been pronounced by the collective voice of that great council; and it is, at the same time, a triumphant exposure of the falsehood of Clarendon's allegation, that "they who knew Northumberland "well, discerned, that the greatness of his reputation "was but an effect of the singular grace and favour "shewed to him by his majesty:"[1] a consideration, which most certainly did not bias the parliament in that juncture. In delineating this one portrait, the noble draughtsman appears to have dropped his own healthful pencil, and to have taken up, by error, the jaundiced pencil of Clarendon.

"In this treaty," says Whitelock, "the king "manifested his great parts and abilities, strength "of reason, and quickness of apprehension, with "much patience in hearing what was objected "against him; wherein he allowed all freedom, and "would himself sum up the arguments, and give a "most clear judgement upon them. His unhappi- "ness was, that he had a better opinion of others' "judgments than of his own, though they were "weaker than his own; and of this, we had expe- "rience to our great trouble. We were often waiting "on the king, and debating some points of the "treaty with him until midnight, before we could "come to a conclusion. Upon one of the most "material points, we pressed his majesty with our "reasons and best arguments we could use to grant "what we desired. The king said, he was fully

[1] History, vol. i. p. 270. 8vo.

" satisfied, and promised to give us his answer in " writing according to our desire: but, as it was " then past midnight, and too late to put it into " writing, he would have it drawn up the next " morning (when he commanded us to wait on " him again), and then he would give us his answer " in writing, as it was now agreed upon.

" We went to our lodgings, full of joyful hopes " to receive this answer the next morning; and " which being given, would have much conduced " to a happy issue, and success of this treaty, and " we had the king's word for it; and we waited on " him the next morning, at the hour appointed. " But, instead of that answer, which we expected, " and were promised, the king gave us a paper quite " contrary to what was concluded the night before, " and very much tending to the breach of the treaty. " We did humbly expostulate this with his majesty; " and pressed him upon his royal word, and the ill " consequences which we feared would follow upon " this his new paper. But the king told us, ' He ' had altered his mind, and that this paper, which ' he now gave us, was his answer which he was now ' resolved to make upon our last debate.' And we " could obtain no other from him, which occasioned " much sadness and trouble to us.

" Some of his own friends, of whom we inquired " touching this passage, informed us; that after we " were gone from the king, and that his council was " also gone away, some of his bed-chamber (and " they went higher) hearing from him what answer

" he had promised us, and doubting that it would " tend to such an issue of the treaty as they did " not wish, they being rather for the continuance " of the war, never left pressing and persuading of " the king, till they prevailed upon him to change " his former resolutions, and to give order for his " answer to be drawn as it was delivered to us."

Clarendon entirely confirms this statement of Whitelock. " Many on the king's side had no mind " to a cessation, and applied themselves in a body " to the king, not to consent to a cessation, till a " peace should be concluded. — But (adds that " noble historian) the true cause and ground was " the king's affection to the queen, which was of a " very extraordinary alloy; a composition of con- " science, and love, and generosity, and gratitude, " and all those affections which raise the passion to " the greatest height; insomuch that he saw with " her eyes, and determined by her judgment; and " did not only pay her this adoration, but desired " that all men should know, that he was swayed by " her; which was not good for either of them. The " queen was a lady of great beauty, excellent wit " and humour, and made him a just return of noblest " affections; so that they were the true idea of con- " jugal affection, in the age in which they lived. " When she was admitted to the knowledge and " participation of the most secret affairs (from which " she had been carefully restrained by the Duke of " Buckingham whilst he lived), she took delight in " the examining and discussing them; and from

"thence, in making judgment of them. She had "felt so much pain in knowing nothing, and med- "dling with nothing, during the time of that great "favourite, that now she took pleasure in nothing "but knowing all things, and disposing all things: "and thought it but just, that she should dispose "of all favours and preferments, as he had done; at "least, that nothing of that kind might be done "without her privity. Not considering, that the "universal prejudice that great man had under- "gone, was not with reference to his person but "his power; and that the same power would be "equally obnoxious to murmur and complaint, if it "resided in any other person than the king himself. "And she so far concurred with the king's inclina- "tion, that she did not more desire to be possessed "of this unlimited power, than that all the world "should take notice, that she was the entire mistress "of it. Which, in truth, (what other unhappy cir- "cumstances soever concurred in the mischief) was "the foundation upon which the first, and the utmost "prejudices to the king and his government, were "raised, and prosecuted. And it was her majesty's, "and the kingdom's misfortune, that she had not "any person about her who had either ability, or "affection, to inform and advise her of the temper "of the kingdom, or humour of the people; or who "thought either worth the caring for.

"When the disturbances grew so rude as to in- "terrupt this harmony; and the queen's fears, and "indisposition which proceeded from those fears,

" disposed her to leave the kingdom, which the " king, to comply with her, consented to (and if " that fear had not been predominant in her, her " jealousy, and apprehension that the king would, " at some time, be prevailed with to yield to some " unreasonable conditions, would have dissuaded her " from that voyage); to make all things therefore " as sure as might be, that her absence should not " be attended with any such inconvenience, his " majesty made a solemn promise to her at parting, " that he would receive no person into any favour " or trust who had disserved him, without her " privity and consent; and that, as she had under- " gone so many reproaches and calumnies at the " entrance into the war, so he would never make " any peace but by her interposition and mediation, " that the kingdom might receive that blessing only " from her.

" This promise (of which his majesty was too " religious an observer) was the cause of his ma- " jesty's rejection, or not entertaining this last over- " ture. And this was the reason that he had that " aversion to the cessation, which he thought would " inevitably oblige him to consent to the peace as it " should be proposed; and therefore he had counte- " nanced an address, that had been made to him " against it by the gentlemen of several counties " attending the court; and in truth, they were put " upon the address by the king's own private direc- " tion. Upon which the chancellor (Clarendon) told " him, when the business was over, that ' he had

'raised a spirit he would not be able to conjure 'down.'"[1]

There was still another secret cause operating at the same time, which encouraged those who had influence over the king's mind to elate it against the parliament. In the same month (April) in which those persons frustrated the purpose of the parliament's commissioners, the king was persuaded to send secret orders from Oxford to his lord lieutenant in Ireland, the Marquess of Ormond, to conclude a cessation with the leaders of the Roman Catholic rebellion in that kingdom, and to send over the Irish army to Chester, to his assistance; by which measure, he would both cause the whole power of the rebels, now divided in opposition to his forces and those of the parliament, to be united and concentered against the latter and the Protestants of Ireland; whilst he, himself, would draw into England a considerable accession of strength in aid of his own cause.

The experience the commissioners obtained at Oxford, proved to the parliament, that they were not truly negotiating with the king, but with a secret junto that overruled the king, and was determined to void the negotiation; whilst the disclosure of the simultaneous manœuvre in Ireland, however ingenious and politic it might be, and the approximation to the Roman Catholics of that kingdom which it revealed, necessarily operated to exasperate the spirit

[1] Life, pp. 79, 80, fol.; 121—3, 8vo.

of hostility which had not been suspended. That secret junto, and their adherents, constituted the party in the kingdom which received the denomination of *cavaliers;* to whose delusive and mischievous counsels, the perpetuation of the breach between the king and the parliament was thenceforth justly ascribed, by all who honestly desired its sound and salutary reparation: of such were the entire navy.

The war therefore proceeded, with increased vigour and acrimony on both sides. The Earl of Northumberland having declined to receive the office of lord high admiral from the hands of the parliament, after having so recently been discharged from it by the king, the parliament yielded to his honourable feeling, with perfect confidence in his integrity, and advanced the Earl of Warwick from his vice-admiralty to that station, giving him the following instructions:

" Die Mercurii, 5 Aprilis, 1643.

" *Instructions by the Lords and Commons in Parliament, to Robert Earl of Warwick, by them appointed to be Admiral and Commander-in-chief of the Ships which are now, or hereafter shall be set forth to Sea, for the better enabling him to the performance of that service.*

" Whereas, by our ordinance of the 8th of February, 1642, you are enabled to exercise martial power by sea, as the lord general doth by land; the vigilant and due execution whereof will be the only effectual means to prevent the mutinies and disorders which the mariners and seamen under your command may be subject unto, as late experience has manifested:

you are therefore hereby required and authorised, with all diligence and care to put the same power in execution, from time to time, as you shall find cause, according to the custom of war in that behalf.

"And whereas in this time of imminent danger, supplies may be made from foreign parts, of ships, soldiers, arms, ammunition, &c. to be brought into this kingdom, and employed against the parliament, or to be brought into the kingdom of Ireland, for the service of the rebels there, against his majesty's good subjects in that kingdom:

"You are therefore hereby required, and fully authorised, in case you meet with any foreign forces, ships, or vessels, as Spaniards, French, Danes, Dunkirkers, or any other whatsoever, making towards the coasts of England, Ireland, or any other of his majesty's dominions, that you shall, according to the usual manner, command them to strike their flags or topsails, and shall cause them to be examined and searched, whether they have any soldiers, arms, ammunition, or other provisions for war in them, that are likely to be employed to the prejudice of the parliament and this kingdom, or his majesty's good subjects in the kingdom of Ireland, and, in case of refusal on their part to such your command, that you then compel them thereunto by force of arms and surprise, and take all such ships and vessels as shall so withstand and refuse you, or otherwise to burn, sink, and destroy them.

"And you are hereby authorised to grant the like power unto all and every the captains, commanders, and masters of ships and vessels under your command, as you in your discretion shall see cause.

"And lastly, you have hereby full power and authority in all things, as shall tend to the good of this service, and the better discharge of the great trust committed unto you. And you, and all commanders, officers, soldiers, and mariners, obeying our command in this service, for the safety of the

parliament, this kingdom, and the kingdom of Ireland, and all other his majesty's dominions, shall for your and their indemnity be protected by the authority of the said houses of parliament."[1]

Orders also were issued to provide a more powerful fleet, of which the following is the authenticated list:

"*A List of His Majesty's Navy Royal and Merchant-Ships, their Names, Captains, Men, Ordnance in every Ship, now set forth for the Guard of the Narrow Seas, and for the Coast of Ireland, in this present Expedition,* 1643. *Under the Command of the Right Hon. Robert Earl of Warwick, Admiral and Commander-in-chief of the said Fleet.*

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS.

		Men.	Ordnance.
1	*Prince Royal*, Robert Earl of Warwick, admiral: Richard Blyth, captain	500	70
2	*St. Andrew*, William Batten, captain, vice-admiral	260	45
3	*St. George*, Richard Owen, captain, rear-admiral	260	46
4	*Swiftsure*, Robert Moulton, captain	260	48
5	*James*, H. Bethel, captain	260	50
6	*Rainbow*, Peter Andrewes, captain	240	42
7	*Victory*, Nathaniel Goodlad, captain	260	46
8	*Charles*, Trestram Stevens, of Dover, captain	350	46
9	*Convertine*, John Stanesby, captain	200	42
10	*Antelope*, —— Haddock, captain	160	36
11	*Entrance*, J. Bowen, captain	160	40
12	*Leopard*, Ben. Crawley, captain	160	44
13	*Swallow*, Thomas Rainborow, captain	150	34
14	*Dreadnought*, —— Soamaster, captain	140	40
15	*Mary Rose*, Richard Blyth, jun. captain	100	38
16	*8th Whelp*, William Thomas, captain	60	18
17	*10th Whelp*, R. Hill, captain	60	14
18	*Greyhound*, Abraham Wheeler, captain	50	18

[1] Collection of Orders, &c. from 1642 to 1646, fol. p. 26. Br. Mus.—RUSHWORTH, vol. v. p. 312.

		Men.	Ordnance.
19	*Nicodemus*, J. Wood, commander and master	45	10
20	*Hart*, —— Batts, commander and master	40	12
21	*Hind*, Robert Bramble, commander and master	70	10
22	*Fortune*, Pynk. Rich. Billard, commander and master..	14	8

"These two small vessels and the four ketches are to attend the fleet:

		Men.	Ordnance.
23	*Nottordam*, Peter White, commander and master.....	20	6
24	*Revenge*, J. Mildmay, commander and master	12	4
25	*Prosperous*, Richard Thomson, master.		
26	*Anne*, Matthew Berry, master.		
27	*Hopewell*, Christopher Berry, master.		
28	Lead's boat at Dover.		

	MERCHANT-SHIPS.	Tons.	Men.	Ordnance.
1	*Martin*, George Martin, captain	532	159	36
2	*Hopeful Luke*, Robert Lea, captain.....	355	106	26
3	*Maidenhead*, James Lutton, captain	285	85	20
4	*Anne and Joyas*, Thomas Jonas, captain.....	300	90	22
5	*Hercules*, Lawrence Mayer, captain.....	468	135	28
6	*May-flower*, Jo. Piggot, captain	405	121	28
7	*Scipio*, Thomas Evans, captain.....	425	127	28
8	*Leopard*, Thomas Clark, captain	362	108	22
9	*Friendship*, Jo. Blake, captain	366	109	24
10	*Speedwell*, Benjamin Peters, captain	383	115	26
11	*Providence*, William Swanley, captain	270	81	20
12	*John and Barbary*, Jo. Barker, captain	283	84	20
13	*Golden Lion* of Leech, Lodwick Dick, captain ...	450	135	30
14	*Exchange*, John Rochester, captain.....	326	97	24
15	*Golden Angel*, Richard Lucas, captain.....	341	102	26
16	*Blessing*, Thomas Shaftoe, captain	200	60	18
17	*Prosperous*, William Driver, captain	435	130	28
18	*Elizabeth and Anne*, William Coppin, captain	88	28	18
19	*Blessing*, —— Ashmore, captain	350	105	26
20	*George*, of Dover, George Bowden, captain.....	121	36	12
21	*James*, Youghall, Thomas Morgan, captain	100	40	8
22	*Charity*, Ralph Dansk, captain.....	120	36	6
23	*Joslin*, —— Stansby, captain	196	59	12
	COLLIERS' SHIPS.			
	Recovery, John North, commander	360	70	11
	Edward and Elizabeth, Edward Leigh, commander...	350	80	14
	Dragon, James Peacocke, commander	260	60	6
	Hector, James Beddall, commander	360	70	20

FIRE-SHIPS.

	Tons.	Men.
Swan, Robert Hudson, commander	200	12
Sarah, Lambart Pitches, commander	250	14
Andrew and John, Thomas Croft, commander	220	13
Lyon, of London, James Flowes, commander	220	12

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS FOR THE IRISH COASTS.

	Men.	Ordnance.
1 *Bonadventure*, Richard Swanley, captain, admiral	170	36
2 *Lyon*, William Smith, captain, vice-admiral	170	42
3 *Expedition*, Joseph Jordan, captain, rear-admiral	100	15
4 *Providence*, William Brook, captain	100	16
5 *Cressent*, Thomas Plunket, commander and master	50	12
6 *Lilly*, John Lambert, commander and master	35	10
7 *Starre*, Thomas Cook, commander and master	60	12
8 *Signet*, J. Weild, commander and master	70	10

MERCHANT-SHIPS.

1 *Employment*, Thomas Ashley, captain, 440 tons	132	30
2 *Ruth*, Robert Constable, captain, 400 tons	120	24
3 *Peter*, Peter Strong, captain, 170 tons	81	14

"Ten merchant-ships on the coast of Ireland to be paid the freight, victuals, and wages unto the owners and company, out of such moneys as have been or shall be paid in by the adventurers upon the act of subscription for Ireland, within one year after the date of the order:

	Tons.	Men.
1 *Zant Merchant*	390	117
2 *Good-hope*	390	117
3 *Achilles*	260	78
4 *Geo. Bonadventure*	242	72
5 *Mary Bonadventure*	240	72
6 *Hopewell*	220	66
7 *Katherine*	200	60
8 *Pennington*	135	40
9 *Dolphin*	100	30
10 *Peter*	150	45

"It is ordained by the lords and commons in parliament, that there be allowed 10 shillings per man, rigging, wages

unto the merchant-ships; and 19 shillings per month a man, to all common seamen, when they are at sea. And it is further ordered, for the better encouragement of the officers and seamen who shall be employed in the fleet; there shall be allowed unto those in the king's ships, besides their pay, one full third part of all prizes that they shall take in this their employment, the other two-thirds to be reserved to the state: and to those in the merchant-ships, one full third part for the officers and seamen, and another third part to the owners, and the third part reserved to the state, as aforesaid; which divisions are to be according to the custom of men-of-war."[1]

"Printed for Robert Blaiklock, 1643 (April 12)."

It will appear, however, from the following letter of the Earl of Warwick to Captain Smith, vice-admiral of Ireland, in the summer of the same year, that the fleet was much sooner proclaimed in print than equipped for service:

"Master Smith,

"I have received yours of the 11th of this moneth, and am now in such haste, as I cannot say much to you. I am here at Topsham Barre, and have begun by God's blessing well, yesterday having taken all the forts on both sides the river, and sixteen piece of ordnance; and now have sent up some small ships to secure the river, with eight hundred land and sea-men. I hope this day, if the rain hinder not, to give a good push to the businesse I came for; I yesterday took one of their companies, Captain White by name, a great papist, and under the Marquesse Hertford's commission; all his popish trinkets about him. I have little force with me,

[1] Public Acts and Orders, 1643. No. 3. Br. Mus.

only the *James*, *Swiftsure*, *Martin*, *Capt. Dicke*, 2. *Whelps*, who are out of victualls, and *Danske* also, so that it is not possible for me to send to Carrickfurgus: nay, I shall be puzzled how to send any ship hence for a convoy, with ammunition to Bristol, for want of shipping.

" Captain Batten (vice-admiral) likewise writes for more ships, for fear of the Danes, and some lesser ones, to guard that coast: I have none. I pray acquaint the committee with it; they must set out more ships, if they will imploy so many, for in my life I was never so put to it for want of shipping, and there is but three on the west end of the channell, which is much too little.

" What our ships do at Guernsey and Jersie, I know not: as soon as I have done here, I must for the Isle of Weight, to replenish the small ships with victualls, and myself. I pray give order that their victualls meet us there, that are to come to them and us. Captain Bowen is at Portsmouth setting a new main-mast, Somaster in the Downes went after the *Marmaduke* to carry her in to you.

" And where you write that the French merchants desire a ship to go from hence to Morlays, to convoy some vessels they have there laden with linnen, for this kingdom; as soon as I have dispatched this businesse for Excester, I will endeavour to send some of those few ships that are with me, if I can find any of them so well furnished with victualls for such a voyage.

" As touching that business of the Hollanders, and my writing to Trump; I was, by their order, to receive an answer from Trump; and if the committee received not satisfaction upon Trump's letter to me, then I was to write to Master Strickland: you have sent me the letter only in Dutch, which I understand not.

" I pray excuse me to my vice-admiral (Batten) for not writing to him at this time, and acquaint him, that I have no small ships for him, for the *Lucie* and the *Samuel*, which

I purposed for him, I sent them long since to the coast of Holland, with directions, when they had done that service, to repair to him; and if they be not gone to him, you must speak to the committee to supply him with some small ships from London, for I have not any.

"And so having no more for the present, being in great haste, I remain

"Your assured loving friend,

"WARWICKE."

"Aboard the *Swiftsure* at Topsham-Bar, the 19th July, 1643."

"On the 8th of October it was resolved, that the Earl of Warwick shall be desired to come in with his ship; and to leave Captain Batten vice-admiral, during this winter season, or until further orders."

And here it is incumbent on me, to render a late justice to the long-injured memory of the parliament's vice-admiral Captain, afterwards Sir William Batten.

On the 29th of November, 1642, an ordinance of parliament was made, "For the speedy setting forth "of certain ships, in all points furnished for war, to "prevent the bringing over soldiers, money, ord-"nance, and other ammunition, from beyond the "seas, to assist the king against the parliament of "England." The two houses had already, in the preceding month of September, sent a Remonstrance to the States of Holland, in order to prevent them from sending supplies of men, money, &c. to the king. Nevertheless, "about the middle of February follow-"ing (1642-3), the time that the treaty began (at Ox-

" ford), the queen," says Clarendon, " took shipping " from Holland, in a States' man-of-war assigned by " the Prince of Orange, with others for her convoy, " and arrived safely in Burlington-bay, upon the " coast of Yorkshire; and she resolved, with a good " quantity of ammunition and arms, to make what " haste she could to the king. Her majesty came " on shore, and for the present was pleased to refresh " herself in a convenient house on the very key.

" On the second day after the queen's landing, " Batten, vice-admiral to the Earl of Warwick (who " had been waiting to intercept her passage), with " four of the king's ships, arrived in Burlington- " road; and finding that her majesty was landed, " and that she lodged upon the key, bringing his " ships to the nearest distances, discharged above " a hundred cannon (whereof many were laden with " cross-bar-shot) for the space of two hours, upon " the house where her majesty was lodged; where- " upon she was forced out of her bed, some of the " shot making way through her own chamber; and " to shelter herself under a bank in the open fields: " which barbarous and treasonable act was so much " the more odious, in that the parliament never so " far took notice of it as to disavow it. So that " many believed it was very pleasing to, if not com- " manded by them; and that if the ships had encoun- " tered her at sea, they would have left no hazard " unrun to have destroyed her majesty."[1]

[1] History, vol. ii. p. 143, 8vo; and Life, vol. i. p. 187. Ed. Oxon. 8vo.

"This (say the compilers of the 'Parliamentary "History') is confirmed by the Lords' Journals."

"March 10. The lords were informed of a report, "that some ships, set out by the parliament, had "shot at the house where the queen lodged, after "she had landed at Bridlington, in Yorkshire, and "killed a man very near her majesty." The compilers then quote the preceding passage from Clarendon, and thus continue: "Though the lords, upon "information of the above report, ordered, that the "Earl of Warwick be desired to examine the truth "of the business, and certify it to the house, when "their lordships would take it into further considera-"tion, yet nothing more was done upon it."[1] The plain fact was, that the lords found, on examination, that the charge preferred in the report to which they had so readily lent an ear, was altogether frivolous, malicious, and false; and that Batten had only faithfully obeyed his instructions with relation to the Dutch ships laden with ammunition, without any reference whatever to the queen's royal person. The truth of the matter is thus honestly and rationally stated by Rushworth: "The queen's majesty, on the 13th "of February, left the Hague, and went to Schevel-"ing, where she embarked for England; and after a "rough and tempestuous passage, safely landed at "Burlington-key, in the East Riding of Yorkshire: "in expectation of whose arrival the Earl of New-"castle had drawn his army that way for a safe-

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. xii. pp. 191, 2.

"guard. She brought over with her a quantity of "arms and ammunition. And four of the parlia- "ment's ships riding at the mouth of Newcastle "harbour, having notice of her arrival, weighed "anchor, and came before Burlington into the bay, "and shot at the small vessels that were landing "the ammunition; some of the bullets reaching into "the town, and near the house where her majesty "lay for her repose, after so hazardous and trouble- "some a voyage: so that she was forced to remove "thence to a more secure lodging behind a hill."[1] This lamentable but common and unavoidable consequence of warfare on a sea-coast, though intelligible to every fair mind, was at once perverted by the passions of the adverse party into an intentional act of insolence and treason towards the queen's individual person. Batten, just arrived in the road, was represented to have pointed all his ordnance against the particular house in which the queen resided, and to have discharged above a hundred guns against that single mark,[2] regardless of the Dutch man-of-war and her hostile convoy. It is a disgrace to Clarendon's pen, to have adopted and perpetuated that calumny;

[1] Vol. vi. p. 156.

[2] This foolish tale has been echoed from Clarendon by later writers of an inferior order. Among these, Campbell, who wrote his "Lives of the Ad- "mirals" nearly a century after Clarendon, gives it nearly in the terms of his original, under the head of "Batten's brutality to the queen" (index): so successfully has the malice of that great unjust, and injurious adversary, hitherto worked. It is with regret that I see it admitted into Dr. Lingard's History; and I am persuaded he will himself regret, that he had not been led to examine its foundation before he gave it the sanction of his authority.

for he had certainly wit enough to know, that the queen's presence could have no claim to protect her prohibited supplies, under the existing circumstances of the parliament; and that their vice-admiral was obliged to obey their instructions. In a subsequent manuscript account of his own life, he qualified his first statement by substituting the words "on a small "village,"[1] for the words "on the house where her "majesty was lodged;" but he left the first falsehood uncorrected in his history.

The compilers of the "Parliamentary History," in repeating this calumny against Batten[2] on the sole authority of Clarendon's defamation, urge it, in their index, as a demonstration of Batten's "opposition to the royal family;" a sentiment that never existed in his breast, or in the navy. The case, however, requires only to be stated at the present day, to dissipate for ever an imputation as false and senseless as it was malignant, and wholly inapplicable to the commander whom it was designed to prejudice. But Clarendon's portraits changed their complexion, like the chameleon, according to the colour which his present temper cast on the paper on which he was writing; at a later day, we shall find him the inconsistent apologist of this same commander.

The small portion of the fleet over which the king for a time still retained authority, was confided to his favourite commander, Sir John Pennington, as

[1] Life, vol. i. p. 187, note. Ed. Oxon. 8vo, 1827. [2] Vol. xiii. p. 473.

his majesty's vice-admiral. Clarendon states, that after the Earl of Warwick had obtained possession of the fleet, "the king was without one ship of his own, "in his three kingdoms, at his devotion;" but we shall see, in the next chapter, that the statement is not correct. Pennington held the office, or more properly the style, of the king's vice-admiral, until his death in the spring of 1645; when he was succeeded by Sir John Minnes,[1] who, after the Restoration, was made comptroller, and afterwards one of the commissioners, of the royal navy.

In this same year, 1643, fell, to the incalculable injury of the nation, John Hampden, and Lucius Cary, Lord Falkland: the former on the 18th of June, the latter on the 20th of September. The loss which the country sustained, in its actual momentous crisis, by this double bereavement, is thus justly appreciated and stated by the noble author of "Memorials of Hampden." "Hampden's death left no "man on the parliament's side who had influence "enough to command, or, perhaps, discretion enough "to direct, terms of accommodation. To Falkland "no man remained, in the party opposed to the "court, with whom to treat as an equal in virtue, "wisdom, and moderation of purpose. What might "have been the result if these two great men, over "whom the grave closed in the course of the same "campaign, had lived, must be matter of mere speculation; but the remarkable coincidence, in one

[1] CARTE's Collection, &c., vol. i. p. 80, 8vo.

" respect, of Falkland's views as described by Lord " Clarendon, with Hampden's, as witnessed by his " comportment, and by the sorrow with which the " king received the news of his fate, leaves it matter " of probability, that this design they had in common, " that, on whichever side the victory had fallen, a " final settlement should be secured by that year's " conflict."[1]

The progress of the war gave maturity, in the ensuing year, 1644, to the military fame, influence, and power of Cromwell,[2] who presently introduced a new character and an altered complexion both into the parliament and into the army, and at length wholly

[1] Vol. ii. pp. 442, 443. A singularly parallel fatality attended the deaths of these two eminent persons. " Mr. Hampden (says RUSHWORTH) would " needs go out with this party (to Chalgrave Field), contrary to the advice of " his friends, being not ordered to it."—Vol. vi. p. 274. Of Lord Falkland the same writer observes: " Some of his friends dissuaded him from venturing " himself (in the Newbury Fight), as having no call to it, being no military " officer."—Ib. p. 294.

[2] " Oliver Cromwell was the nephew of Sir Oliver Cromwell, who had a " very great estate; but his father being a younger brother, had not above " £300 per annum. Their name originally was not Cromwell, but Williams, " and the name of Cromwell was by this accident. When Cromwell, earl of " Essex, fell, in the reign of Henry VIII., he had Oliver Cromwell's ancestor " (Williams) in his service, who was a person of lively parts, and industrious " in business; which Henry VIII. observing, took him into his service, but " upon all occasions called him Cromwell. And the king being asked the " reason, answered, 'He called him so in Cromwell's time, and would con- ' tinue to call him so still;' and this continued down to Sir Oliver's, and our " Cromwell's time."—(COKE, Detection of the Court and State of England, &c., vol. i. pp. 371, 372.) NOBLE, in his " House of Cromwell," makes it appear, that this ancestor, Sir Richard Williams, was allied by blood to the Earl of Essex, though the alliance is not very clearly traced out; and that his descendants, to Oliver's time, described themselves, Williams *alias* Cromwell. Noble assigns only conjectural reasons for his assuming the name of Cromwell, which renders the traditional reason, here transmitted by Coke, the most probable.

supplanted, in both, the principle of a reunion with the king, which had governed the first years of their deliberations. As late as September 1645, we see that principle still ruling in the army. In Sir Thomas Fairfax's summons to Prince Rupert for the surrender of Bristol, that brave, and acknowledgedly ingenuous commander thus expressed himself:

"SIR,

"The crown of England is, and will be, where it ought to be; we fight to maintain it there; but the king, misled by evil counsellors, or through a seduced heart, hath left his parliament, under God the best assurance of his crown and family. The maintaining of this schism, is the ground of this unhappy war on your part; and what sad effects it hath produced in the three kingdoms, is visible to all men. To maintain the rights of the crown and kingdom jointly, a principal part thereof is, that the king, in supreme acts, is not to be advised by men of whom the law takes no notice; but, by his parliament, the great council of the kingdom, in whom (as much as man is capable of) he hears all his people, as it were, at once advising him; and in which multitude of counsellors lies his safety, and his people's interest. And, to see him right in this, hath been the constant and faithful endeavours of the parliament; and to bring those wicked instruments to justice that have misled him, is the principal ground of our fighting."[1]

But, that principle did not accord with the secret purposes of his lieutenant-general, Oliver Cromwell, who, having attained to that high authority, suspended not his stratagems until he had driven the

[1] HEATH, p. 85.

principle both from the parliament and the army; leaving it, nevertheless, enshrined in the hearts of the navy, from which his utmost power was never able to expel it.

The fact, of the rise of Cromwell at this crisis, I state here only to mark a period of time; for I have no intention to repeat the common-places of our histories, regarding our domestic war.

Hume, remarking on the commencement of that war, observes: "This island enjoyed the singular "advantage (for such it surely was) of fighting out "its own quarrels without the interposition of fo-"reigners;" and he ascribes that advantage altogether to "the little interest the neighbouring states "of Europe, engaged in violent wars, took in our "civil commotions." But it is to be ascribed, with far greater sagacity and truth, to the contest for the fleet terminating in favour of the parliament. "This "loss of the whole navy (acknowledges Clarendon) "was of unspeakable ill consequence to the king's "affairs; and made his condition much the less "considered by his allies, and neighbour princes, "who saw the sovereignty of the sea now in other "hands."[1] Had the contest ended otherwise, and had the king become master of the navy, no one who is well aware of the history of the time, and the spirits of the king's advisers, can entertain a reasonable doubt, that it would have been employed in maintaining an active intercourse with foreign states. And, as the increased consequence which the king

[1] History, vol. i. p. 679.

would have derived, from his naval strength, in the eyes of foreign powers, would have materially affected the carriage of those powers towards him (who could not fail to have been desirous of strengthening the principle for which he was contending), it is more than probable, that so soon as his necessities had required it, foreign succour would have been drawn into the kingdom in aid of his cause. Thus, with a foreign force, and a commanding navy acting in concurrence with a party at home, Charles might have succeeded in confirming his high pretensions; and thus it might have happened, that the conflict which the adverse principles of freedom and unrestrained prerogative must have mutually provoked, at one time or other, in our improving society, might have been violently checked and suspended, and protracted even to our own days; so that, instead of gathering the rich fruits of freedom, as we do at the present hour, nourished by the blood of our forefathers, and ripened by a growth of little short of two centuries, we might have been now called upon to encounter miseries and distractions similar to those which cast so dark a gloom over that tempestuous period of our history. The acquisition of the fleet by the parliament, that is, by the country, at once defeated the possibility of so extensive an evil. The navy, unaware of "the canker-worm that "was breeding in the bowels of the parliament and "the army,"[1] always jealous for England against the world, and at that time constantly hopeful of

[1] COKE's Detection of the Court and State, &c., vol. i. p. 377.

a just and reasonable accommodation between the parties conflicting on shore, considered themselves only as the guards that were to defend and secure our insular arena, and to prevent all foreign interference in the domestic quarrels of the nation; and, by their steady and consistent perseverance in that course and sentiment, they alone maintained the independence, power, and dignity of England in the scale of Europe, until the kingdom could be finally resettled on healthful principles, purged of those which had engendered the war.

CHAPTER II.

1644—1650.

Service in the Irish Fleet — Contemporary Naval Affairs.

1644.

Such was the general position, and such the feeling of the navy, when William Penn, in 1644, and at the age of twenty-three years, was promoted to the command of the *Fellowship*.

His nomination to that particular ship, and at that early age, was in itself no slight distinction. The *Fellowship* had belonged to the fleet commanded by Vice-Admiral Sir John Pennington for the king, and, in the month of August of the preceding year, 1643, had been gallantly captured at her moorings in Milford-haven by Captain William Smith, vice-admiral to Swanley, admiral of the Irish seas; both which commanders, in the present year, received the thanks of the house of commons, together with gold chains, for their respective services.[1] The capture of the *Fellowship* was an exploit which excited so much interest at the time, that the following letter of the vice-admiral, reporting it, was published with exultation in a tract, entitled,

[1] Whitelock, p. 89. Commons' Journals.

"*Several Letters of great Importance, and good Success lately obtained against the* Fellowship *of Bristow, by Captain William Smith, Captain of His Majesty's Ship called the* Swallow, *now in service for the King and Parliament. And likewise the Lord Admiral's Design upon Bristow, and the Navy making ready there under the Command of Sir John Pennington.*

"*London: Printed for Laurence Blaicklock, at the Sign of the Sugar-loafs near Temple-bar.* 1643.

"Sir,

"According to my last unto you, I set sail on the 3d of August, 1643, out of Kinsayle, to ply to the eastward; and between the Saul-tiers and the Smales, I made a sail some two leagues to the eastward, on the 5th of the same month, in the morning; and at evening, fetching her up, she proved to be a vessel belonging to North Yarmouth, and come from Strangford in Ireland, laden with wood, and bound for Milford in Wales, to deliver there. And inquiring, what news? the master told me, that he met with Captain Jordan[1] in the *Expedition*, who had taken a Hamburgher, burthen about 300 tuns, of force 16 guns, being laden with salt, and other provisions. She came from Rochelle in France, and was bound for relief of the rebels, and was taken before St. David's Head on the coast of Wales. The master further informed me, that he did believe Captain Jordan was gone for Milford; and, having a great desire to meet with Captain Jordan, I bore in for that harbour, not knowing how he might be engaged; and in case I found him not there, then to desire the gentlemen of that county to send *hue and cry* to apprehend divers passengers whom Captain Jordan had forced on shore before he got possession of the prize. And when I came

[1] Afterwards, the distinguished Admiral Sir Joseph Jordan.

before the harbour's mouth, a fisherman came on board of me, who told me, that in Milford there were two ships, men-of-war; the one was the *Fellowship* of Bristol, burthen about 400 tuns, of force 24 guns, having in her four captains, viz. Capt. Barnaby Burley,[1] Capt. Brooks, Capt. William Hayle, and Capt. Banister; the other was the *Hart* frigate, wherein commanded Captain Richard Nesson. The said captains had summoned on board the *Fellowship* all the gentry in those parts, and certified, that the king had taken Bristol, and that all the kingdom did now repair unto his majesty, to seek for his gracious pardon; and that the parliament's forces were all overthrown; and that his majesty would suddenly march for London, all Kent being now in arms to assist the king. Chatham and Rochester were also taken; therefore they would advise that county presently to present a petition to his majesty, in tender of their service unto him; and also to raise such a considerable sum of money as they in their wisdom should conceive meet to comply with his majesty's occasions; and so come on board them, and they would present them to his majesty. But in case they should not do this, then they and their posterity were ruined for ever; for Prince Rupert[2] would immediately come down and plunder their country. And his majesty had sent them out to command all his majesty's ships, and other ships that were on that or the Irish coast; that, on their allegiance, they should repair to Bristol; and the commanders and mariners should

[1] Mentioned above, in the Earl of Warwick's letter from the Downs, p. 41.

[2] Prince Rupert, or Robert, was the son of Frederick, prince palatine of the Rhine, by Elizabeth, only sister of Charles I. He was made Knight of the Garter, and was naturalised 19th January, 19 Car. I. (1643), and on the 24th of January was created Earl of Holderness and Duke of Cumberland.—(Dugdale's Baronage, vol. ii. p. 471.) Campbell very erroneously places those creations in the reign of Charles II.: "After the king's restoration," he says, "Prince Rupert was invited into England, where the king created him Duke "of Cumberland, Earl of Holderness, &c."—Lives of the Admirals, vol. ii. p. 416.

receive from his majesty both employment, honour, and great reward; and the mariners should have great gratuity.

"Upon this intelligence, I called to me all the officers of the *Swallow*, and then the ship's company; informed them what I heard, and that the ship was rich, having aboard her divers goods belonging to the merchants of Bristol, to preserve from plundering; all which, the owners of the ship had traiterously delivered, with their ship, unto the hands of the cavaliers; and that if they would fight for it, their love and zeal to God's cause would be made visible to all men, and it would very much daunt the enemy, and be a good example for others to trace them in the steps of valour and virtue. Also, it would manifest their thankfulness to the parliament who had conferred such favours, as first a gratuity, then the increase of their wages; all which must needs bring a blessing on them: and I do not doubt, but that if it should please God to deliver the ships into our hands, the parliament would acknowledge their constancy, in gratifying their fidelity according to the value of the prize.

"And then, demanding their resolutions, they cried all, as one man, 'God bless the king and parliament;' and that 'they would stand by me to the last man.' And then I bore in for the harbour, it being Monday, the 7th of August, 1643; where I found the said ship at anchor. But the commander had made us from the top of a hill before we came in; and had fitted their ships, and had put aboard the waist-cloths. And when I came within shot, there came off a boat from the *Fellowship* towards the *Swallow*, and in it one Captain John Brooks, holding a white flag; who desired a parley, upon condition I would let him return aboard the *Fellowship*, if we could not accord; to which I consented. Then he came aboard; and leaping down into the waist, he cried, 'God bless King Charles!' To which we all said, 'Amen!' The which being done, the said captain desired to have some private conference with me; but I refused it, saying, that I

desire to hear nothing from him but what the whole ship's company might hear. But he pressed it the second time; and being denied, the said captain turned himself to the ship's company, relating unto them the words formerly specified in demonstrating the king's grace and mercy extended towards us, in case we would comply, and carry the ship to Bristol. But then I commanded him to silence, saying, 'it did seem strange unto me, that he should dare to take the king's name in his mouth, in regard that both he and his confederates appeared unto me as pirates and sea-rovers, in that they had taken and rifled a double shallop that belonged to his majesty's fleet, now on the coast of Ireland, having five small guns in her.' But the said captain replied; 'they had a commission for what they had done under the hand of Sir John Pennington; and that Capt. Hayle had another, under the hand of Prince Rupert; and that Sir John Pennington was high admiral by patent under the great seal of England.'

"I told him, 'I had no such intelligence of any such patent, either from the parliament, or from the honourable the Earl of Warwick; or any order to obey it. And as for that of Prince Rupert, he being a stranger, I could not perceive by what virtue or power his highness could give commission to any to rob, or take his majesty's ships, or other ships belonging to any of his majesty's loyal subjects. And therefore, until I could be better satisfied, I would use my best endeavour to seize on their persons and ships as pirates, or sink by their side.'

"And, in the interim of this discourse, the *Swallow* was come to an anchor on her broadside, and then Capt. Brooks desired me to certify so much to Capt. Burley. And while I went into the cabin to write, the *Fellowship* had cut her cables, and was under sail, intending to run ashore. And being informed thereof by the master, we came out; and I commanded the gunner to give fire to a piece of ordnance:

the which was done; but within a cable's length, the *Fellowship* came aground; and in pursuit of her we cut, and also came aground a little ahead of her, and then I gave two pieces of ordnance. Whereupon, Capt. Burley appeared on the poop, and cried, 'Captain, hold, hold!' Then I commanded him aboard, who, when he came, told me he would deliver up the ship, if I would promise, on the faith of a gentleman, to set the commanders and ship's company ashore, or give them a double shallop to carry them to Bristol: the which if I refused to do, he had left those on board would set the ship on fire. Then I replied to him, that burn she should, for I was determined not to part with any one man of them, for I valued them more than I did the ship. But in the mean time I had sent a letter to the master and ship's company, that if they would deliver up the other two captains, with the ship, I did promise them all a free entertainment, and that they should have their wages paid, and all such goods as they could make appear justly to belong to them. Upon the receipt of which letter, the master and mariners did deliver up the ship without the loss or hurt of any one man (God be praised); only when the *Hart* frigate parted from us, to run ashore, we gave her an unhappy shot, and killed two men, and hurt one; but Capt. Nesson, who commanded in her, carried her eight miles up the river, and ran her ashore in a creek. But she was pursued by Captain Rew Williams, and there was exchanged divers shot between them; but Nesson ran away, with most of his men, and left her; and the next day Captain Williams brought her off, in which service the gentleman doth crave his lordship's protection.

"Having perfected this service, the next day I set sail in search of my admiral, to acquaint him with our proceedings; and also, that Bristol was lost,[1] and the fleet is now repairing

[1] Bristol was taken by the king's forces under Prince Rupert, on the 25th of July.

there to command our fleet, wherein Sir John Pennington is to come out admiral; that so we might use our best endeavours to nip these proceedings in the bud. And, having acquainted my admiral herewith, it is agreed on, that forthwith we repair to Milford, to endeavour to get our ships' want of victuals supplied; the which if we should do, I hope God will enable us to perform some good service, in the preventing of the coming out of the fleet, either by inviting them to comply with us, or else to destroy them in the harbour. And this is my admiral's and our constant resolution, if it shall please God to enable us with victuals to subsist on this coast; to which I doubt not but that our God will give us a blessing, in that he hath been pleased to give such good success in surprising of one of their best ships, as also the frigate,[1] the which is a great encouragement to us, and doubtless as great a disheartening unto them who seek the king and country's ruin; endeavouring to uphold that antichristian beast, whom God hath said, 'must down.' To whose protection I commit you and take my leave, and rest

"Your most loving brother to serve you,

"WILLIAM SMITH."

"From on board his majesty's ship the *Swallow*, making sail, Milford, Aug. 17, 1643."

[1] "Ordered, That it be referred to the committee of the Admiralty to "dispose of the prisoners sent up from my Lord of Warwick into such prisons "and places of custody as they shall think fit; Capt. Hales, Capt. Burleigh, "and Capt. Brookes, being taken in the *Fellowship* of Bristol, and *Hart* frigate, "in arms against the parliament. Ordered, That a letter be written to the "gentlemen of Pembrokeshire, to take notice of their good service, in the sur-"prising of the Bristol ships in Milford-haven."—(Commons' Journals.) It may be observed here, that the orthography of names, in the several navy lists, was wholly disregarded; as we have here Hayle and Hales, Burley and Burleigh; so we find Blake and Blagg, Rainsborough and Rainsborrow, Dekins, Dakins, and Dawkins, Badiley and Bodilo, Minnes and Mennes, &c.

" 14-21 September, 1643.

"The last week hath afforded us information of a design of a great person of the king's army (by name Prince Rupert) to transport the goods and riches of this kingdom into foreign parts; for that a ship of plundered goods and wealth, which the cavaliers had taken from several persons in the western counties, was sent from Bristol by Prince Rupert towards Holland, with which (as it is informed by letter from the Isle of Wight) one of the king's ships, now under the command of the Earl of Warwick, by name the *Swallow*, then coming from Ireland, met, and after a short space surprised it. Of which Prince Rupert having notice, sent out two other ships from Bristol for to rescue it, viz. the vice-admiral and another; both which the *Swallow*, by the courage of the captain and soldiers in it, also took, and brought them all in to a place called the Cowes, in the Isle of Wight. In these fights it was observed, that the seamen in the cavaliers' ships were unwilling to fight against any of the king's ships; being conscious of the designs of the cavaliers to undo the kingdom, and to hinder all trading, traffic, and commerce. I believe, if matters of this nature were thoroughly examined, it would be found, that there hath been much treasure and riches transported out of this kingdom by Prince Rupert and his cavaliers."[1]

At the beginning of this year, April 12, 1644, the Irish fleet consisted of the following ships:

	Men.	Guns.
Bonaventure, Capt. Richard Swanley, admiral	170	36
Lyon, Capt. William Smith, vice-admiral	170	42
Expedition, Capt. Joseph Jordan, rear-admiral	100	15
Providence, Capt. William Brook	100	16
Crescent, Commander Thomas Plunkett	50	12
Lilly, Commander John Lambert	35	10
Star, Commander Thomas Cook	60	12
Signet, Commander J. Wield	70	10

[1] Mercurius Civicus. No. 17.

To this fleet the *Fellowship* was now added; Penn was appoimted to command her; the number of her guns was increased to 28; and, in the summer-guard of this year, he made his first voyage in that ship.

From the summer of 1644 to that of 1650, he was constantly employed in the Irish squadron, commanding successively the *Fellowship*, the *Assurance*, of 30 guns, and the *Lion*, of 45 guns, and successively rising to the ranks of rear-admiral and vice-admiral of the Irish seas; which station brought him into intimate and permanent friendship with the Lord Inchiquin, and the numerous members of the noble family of Boyle. The service of the Irish fleet during those years was one of unremitting activity and anxiety, having to defend and secure the western ports of England and Wales against the king's forces; and, at the same time, to protect and assist the Protestants of Ireland, by sea and land, against the fury of the Roman Catholic rebellion, which was then raging in all its ferocity with expectation of foreign support; Pope Urban VIII. having, in May 1643, published at Rome an indulgence for making war on the heretics, that is, the Protestants of Ireland.[1]

The Roman Catholics were already in arms; and had not only formed a regular army, and model of government, but were exerting themselves to appear on the seas as a naval power. Borlace has preserved for history, some of the measures taken by them with

[1] See the Indulgence, and Urban's Brief to O'Neal, in RUSHWORTH's Collections, vol. v. p. 525.

that view. "Having determined what to do with "the Protestants, they consulted what course they "would pursue in reference to their government of "the state." Amongst other determinations, they agreed, "that it should be enacted, that there be no "other profession in the kingdom but the Romish;" and moreover,

"That for maintaining a correspondence with other nations, and for securing the coasts, and also that they may be rendered considerable to others, a navy of a certain number of ships is to be maintained: that to this end, five houses are to be appointed, one in each province (accounting Meath for one of them); that to these houses shall be allotted an annual pension of certain thousands of pounds, to be made up of part of the lands appropriate to abbeys; and a further contribution to be raised in the respective provinces to that end: that these houses are to be assigned to a certain order of knights, answerable to that of Malta, who are to be seamen. And to maintain this fleet, that all prizes are to be apportioned, &c."[1]

Borlace has further preserved a copy of one of the letters of mark, issued by the supreme council of the rebels at Kilkenny, which is as follows:

"By the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland.

"To all men to whom these presents shall come, we, the supreme council of the confederate Catholics of this realm, send greeting. Know ye, that we, having taken into our serious consideration the great and necessary use we have of ships of war for the defence of the coast of this realm, and

[1] History of the Irish Rebellion, p. 25.

advancement and furtherance of commerce with foreign nations, and for opposing his majesty's enemies, who daily hinder and annoy his majesty's good subjects of this kingdom by sea, and stop all free trade in this realm and abroad; have therefore constituted and appointed, and do hereby ordain, constitute, and appoint, our well-beloved friend, Captain Francis Oliver, native of Flanders, having received good testimony of his sufficiency and integrity, to be captain of the ship called *St. Michael the Archangel*, of burthen 120 lasts or tuns, or thereabouts; hereby giving and granting unto the said captain full and absolute power, commission, and authority, to furnish the said ship with all necessaries fit for sea and war, and with the same to cross the seas, and take, hinder, and prejudice all such as he shall find or meet of his majesty's enemies, the enemies of the general Catholic cause now in hand in this kingdom, their ships and goods whatsoever, either by sea or land, by what means soever; and the said shipping or goods to set to sale, and dispose of as lawful prizes, and open-enemies' goods; saving unto his majesty and his lawful officers, and unto all other person or persons, bodies politic and corporate, all rights, requisites, and duties, due or usual, answered out of all prizes. And we hereby command all officers of all our ports, harbours, and havens, within our jurisdiction throughout the realm, to admit the said Captain Francis Oliver, and his companies, ships, and goods, from time to time, to pass and repass, come and go, without molestation or trouble: and that all commanders of forts, and all other officers of his majesty's loving subjects, to be aiding and assisting to him in execution and furtherance of the premises whatsoever, and as often as occasion shall require.

" And lastly, we pray all foreign princes, states, and potentates, to defend, protect, assist, and favour, the said captain, his ships and goods, when, and as often as, he shall come into their respective coasts and harbours.

"This, our commission, to continue during pleasure. Given at Kilkenny, the last day of December, 1642,

"Was signed

"MOUNTGARRET; HUGO ARMACHANUS; GORMANSTON; JOHAN. EPISC. CLONFUTENSIS; NIC. PLUNKET; PAT. DARCY; JAMES CUSACK; JEFFET BROWN."

This general defiance, issued in 1642, was operating with its full effect in 1644; adding professional to religious excitement, in all the officers and men of the squadron that felt itself more immediately the object against which it was directed. How much Penn's heart was engaged in this service, will appear from a passage in a letter written by him, whilst on that station, to his father, in answer to one in which his father had urged him to withdraw himself from the public service, and to make a mercantile voyage for the improvement of his fortune; in which letter he says: "Nor is the world at that pass with me, as "you may conceive. When I have spare (if at any "time I have) 'tis well known to some how ready-"handed I have been to the relief of others: nor do "I make proclamation thereof to you, I know I "have my reward; but only to manifest my duty, "of which I shall ever be careful. Nor do I serve "the state in hope of gain: gold to me, in this, is "dirt; 'tis the goodness of the cause that hath only "put me on, and nothing whatsoever shall take me "off from the service I have so cordially undertaken; "and shall be so prodigal of my blood, that I shall

" think it well, very well spent, and life to boot, for " the maintenance of so good, so just, so pious a " quarrel. And if ever God send peace, an honour- " able peace, peace and truth on this our nation, I " may then, if I continue the sea, think of a Levant " voyage; till then, though I spend more than I get " (which is true enough), I am so resolved, and God " so prosper my designs."

His sense of religion, which reveals itself not only in his journals and public letters, but in his private and domestic communications, was simple, sincere, and strong, as his love for his country and his profession was pure, ardent, and constant. He was born, and received his first religious impressions, in an age when the first impressions of Protestant illumination and deliverance from the preceding darkness still preserved their force and freshness, unworn by habit and long possession; and his mind was naturally disposed to receive them, and to retain them in all their strength. It was the age, also, in which our present revised translation of the Scriptures, which had been earnestly demanded by both religious parties, episcopal and presbyterian, had lately been put forth under authority; and was then read with proportionate avidity, especially under parental tuition. His church, was the church of England, by whose services he was baptised and buried, and to which he adhered when it could be found; but his religion, was the Christianity of the Reformation, and he could find that when he could not find his church. Hume, speaking of the seamen of that day, has

thought fit to say: "That race of men, who are at "present both careless and ignorant in all matters "of religion, were at that time only ignorant."[1] These words contain a calumny on the British seamen as false as it is flippant. They accurately describe Hume's own case, which he charges on the seamen, as readily as the chairman who could not keep his feet, charged his drunkenness on the lady he was carrying. Hume's hallucinatory persuasion of the supremacy of the human intellect, at least in his own person, had rendered him insensible to, and therefore equally ignorant and careless of the power of true religion on the human heart—the wants of the latter, and the succours of the former. One who knew infinitely better than Hume the springs that move man's nature, had long ago oracularly pronounced: "They that go down to the sea in ships, "and occupy their business in great waters, these "men see the works of the Lord, and his wonders "in the deep: they cry unto the Lord in their "trouble, and He delivereth them out of their dis-"tress." A voyage round Cape Horn, with some tornados of doubtful and threatening issue, would have mightily roused and enlightened Hume's somnolent and crepusculous philosophy. A late circumnavigator of that remote and desolate promontory, thus bears testimony in his teeth. "Sailors, "with all their looseness of habits, are well disposed "to be sincerely religious; and when they have fair "play given them, they will always, I believe, be

[1] History of England, ch. 50.

"found to stand on as good vantage ground in this "respect as their fellow-countrymen on shore."[1]

Though the presbyterian rule was very generally and very strictly followed in the naval service, the fanaticism and hypocrisy which soon prevailed on shore, especially in the new army, made no progress in it.[2] Indeed, no unison of sentiment subsisted during the latter and greater part of those troubles between the navy and the army, except that th former always proclaimed their readiness to maintai the honour of their country against a foreign fo and to fight its battles, whatever party at home ex cised the power of the state. They were no meddl in the politics on land; and though soldiers civilians were obtruded into the affairs of the n no seamen were implicated in the offices and p cal proceedings of the government on shore; they were, in consequence, no sharers in the mea which finally ensued, when a military usurpatio the knot of discord with the crown by strikir the head that wore it. The old army had disbanded, and Cromwell had packed a ne unnational army of wild and perverted spirits, unlike the armies that fought before under a Le and after under a Marlborough, had never tr reign soil, had never faced an enemy that wa fellow-subject, nor shed blood that was not th of a brother. "Generally, the soldiers (say

[1] Captain BASIL HALL, R.N. Fragments of Voyages and T Series), vol. iii. p. 216.

[2] "When they were reputed presbyterians," says Dr. WALLIS "in the sense of *anti-episcopal*, but of *anti-independents*." See A

"lock) were against any thing of monarchy, though "every one was a monarch in his own regiment and "company." Whereas, the navy felt tenderly towards the king's royal person, and ascribed all the errors of his government to the influence of evil counsellors; and were so reluctant to separate the king from the parliament, that the latter at length found it necessary to pass an ordinance, that commissions to sea-captains should no longer be made in the names of the king and parliament, but in the name of the parliament only. But, in proportion as the navy concentrated the individual, they accumulated indignation against those whom they regarded as his deceivers. And this essential difference between the principles of the two services of that day, was the plain reason, which Campbell found it hard to discover, why Cromwell appointed army-officers to command and control the navy; a system which could not have been very palatable to the latter service, although, through a series of years, they endured it on a national principle, with exemplary patience and subordination. In pursuance of which system, in the close of 1652, a year which had been signalised by naval conflicts (and when Penn commanded in chief in the Downs, as vice-admiral of England), the policy of Cromwell sent down a committee of colonels to the fleet, with power to examine, remove, and appoint naval captains and commanders. Would the happy concord, and the mutual and equal respect, which now so honourably subsists between those two noble services continue, if the navy were made

amenable to a committee sitting at the Horse Guards?

The fact is, that whilst the king lived, the navy obeyed the parliament in honest hope and expectation, that they would effect such a reconciliation with his majesty as would secure both the rights of the crown, and the rights and liberties of the nation. When the king ceased to live, and notice of impending war with a foreign, and that a naval state, began at the same instant to reveal itself, the navy obeyed the parliament, both from a public principle, and from a professional sense of the necessity of discipline and subordination in the prosecution of a war. But when that war was ended, and when a peace was obtained exclusively by their own labour, valour, and victories, they looked again for the first object of their expectation. They found the parliament gone, but they found a rightful king in being; and they knew that a legitimate parliament could not be recovered, except by the rightful king restored to his throne. They saw, and felt with indignation, a new and confirmed military usurpation exercising despotic power over them; and, from that moment, they watched in secret for a time when the course of events should engender an occasion and a means to put down that usurpation, and to reinstate and reconcile a true parliament and king in their due relative positions in the kingdom.

Although the six years of Penn's employment on the Irish station were years of daily toil, hazard, and anxious responsibility, affording a very active theatre

for the exercise of professional judgment, skill, and bravery, yet the incidents they present are too general and similar in character to afford many for special selection in this place; I shall therefore produce only two extracts, from his journals of his second and third voyages in the *Fellowship;* the first, relating to the successful relief of Youghall, in the county of Cork; the second, to the unsuccessful defence of the castle of Bonratty, in the county of Clare, both in the province of Munster; together with some of his letters, written whilst he was in the Irish seas. These I shall produce, both as an example of the nature of that service, and as an evidence of the disposition and estimation of the man, who was so soon and so rapidly to attain to the head of his profession; and that at a time when (as observe the authors of the "Biographia Britan-"nica") "so strict an eye was kept over all the "servants of the public, that it was impossible for "men of no merit to rise, or for such as really pos-"sessed it to pass unregarded."[1] If the reader find these documents tedious in the perusal, he will the better judge of the tedium of six successive years actually so employed; to revive the memory of which service, in justice to the actor, is one of my motives in producing these memorials.

The first of these journals begins on the 12th of October, 1644, two days before the birth of Penn's eldest son, William, who became afterwards so much

[1] End of the Life of Sir George Ayscue. Note [B].

celebrated, at home and abroad, as the founder and legislator of the province of Pennsylvania, in North America.

But it will be advisable, briefly to consider the position of the province of Munster at this juncture, of which Warner gives the following account:

"Upon the death of Sir W. St. Leger, president "of Munster, the command of the forces, and the "civil government of that province, had devolved on "Lord Inchiquin, the vice-president. As a native "of Ireland of the ancient stock, and descended "from the race of the great Brian Boromy, the "reader will not be surprised to find Lord Inchi-"quin well affected to the king, zealous for the "rights of monarchy, of a vast ambition, and of a "prodigious high spirit, which disposed him to high "resentments. He had been engaged in the whole "war, and done many eminent services against the "rebels: at the cessation, he had sent over a con-"siderable body of forces to his majesty's assistance "against the parliament, to whose measures no man "living was more averse; and in the beginning of "this year, 1643, he had waited on the king at "Oxford, not doubting but his own merit, and the "Marquess of Ormonde's recommendation, would "gain him the presidency of Munster, which he "passionately desired. It is certain that no one "was so well entitled to it, or could serve the king "in it so well; and though, on his first coming "over, his majesty had consented to his lordship's "having it, yet it was soon found that the Earl of

" Portland had, some years before, obtained a pro-
" mise of it from the king, who had passed a *fiat*
" under the privy seal for a patent of the presidency
" of Munster; and to him it was now given: and
" instead of using any means to content the earl
" with something else, who had no connexions in
" Ireland, which, no doubt, might have been easy
" enough, Lord Inchiquin was absolutely refused it;
" and even the survivance of it on the demise, or
" cession, of the Earl of Portland, was not granted
" him. Having met with this disappointment, his
" stay at court was very short; and he returned
" into Ireland very justly soured and piqued against
" it. As friendship is a quality rarely known in
" courts, there were more people ready to do him
" ill offices, in representing him as inclined to
" espouse the side of the parliament, from the cha-
" racter of the persons to whom he had left the
" command of the army and the forts in Munster,
" than to explain those appearances against him by
" a true state of the case, which would have cleared
" him.

" How easy soever it was for the king to make
" the Earl of Portland president of Munster, and to
" send him over to take the command annexed to
" his post, yet his majesty should have considered,
" that it was not an easy thing to take the charge
" from Lord Inchiquin whom he had now offended,
" who had the power of the province in his hands,
" who would probably not serve under a rival, and,
" after so many proofs that he had given of merit

" and ability, be contented with the condition of a " private officer. The lord lieutenant (Marquess of " Ormonde) saw perfectly his majesty's error, and " the evil consequences of it; and endeavoured, but " in vain, to allay the resentment of Lord Inchiquin. " The king himself had reason enough too, in a little " time, to see and to repent it; and yet this did not " deter him from engaging himself to other people " for places and posts in Ireland, contrary to his " interest, and contrary to his promise to the lord " lieutenant, that he would dispose of nothing there " without him. But it appears as though the king " had for some time made every thing in Ireland " subservient to the queen's humour, or to his views " of gaining a victory over the English parliament.

" Towards the end of July, 1644, Lord Inchiquin " made an open declaration of his intentions, by " signing an address to his majesty, in concert with " his officers, to desire him to make a peace with " the parliament; and by applying to them for sup- " plies to carry on the war against the Irish.[1] The

[1] Those several letters were signed,

" The Lord of Inchiquin, { Chief commander of the Protestant forces in Munster.

Lord of Broghill ..... Governor of Youghall.

Sir William Fenton, Knight.

Sir Percy Smith, Knt.... { Lieutenant-Colonel, and Deputy Governor of Youghall.

Lieut.-Col. W. Brocket, Governor of Kinsale.

Lieut.-Col. T. Serle..... Governor of Bandon.

Serj.-Major Muschamp... Governor of the Fort of Cork.

" 17th July, 1644." RUSHWORTH, vol. vi. p. 973.

Of the preceding personages, we have the following account in LODGE's " Irish Peerage :"—

"parliament were too sensible of his lordship's "power not to receive his application very joyfully, "and to promise all he asked; especially as it came "attended with an engagement, that his brother, "Colonel O'Brien, then in England, should deliver "Wareham into their hands, and bring his whole "regiment back to Ireland. The same spirit and "disposition which make a man a warm and zealous "friend, will prompt him, upon ungrateful usage, to "be as warm an enemy. The king's ingratitude had "touched Lord Inchiquin in a very tender point; "and it required more loyalty than was fashionable "at that time not to shew his resentment. His "lordship therefore not only performed what he "had offered the parliament, but he used all his "endeavours to bring back the officers and soldiers "whom he had sent to serve the king; and pre- "tending that the Irish intended to surprise all his "garrisons, he drove the magistrates and the Roman "Catholic inhabitants out of Youghall, Kinsale, and "Cork, allowing them only to take their clothes, "and seizing all the provision and effects in their "houses."[1]

"Murrough O'Brien, was the sixth baron of Inchiquin (*Inch-I-Chuynn*): "he became lord president of Munster for the parliament.—Roger Boyle, Lord "Broghill, was the fourth son of the first or great Earl of Cork: he became "vice-president of Munster for the parliament.—Sir William Fenton, of "Michaelstown, in the county of Cork, knt., was the son of Sir Geoffry Fenton, "secretary of state and privy councillor in Ireland, and brother to Catherine, "countess of Cork, second wife of the first earl, and mother of the Lord Brog- "hill.—Sir Percy Smith was son of Sir Richard Smith, by the Lady Mary "Boyle, sister to the first Earl of Cork."

[1] History of the Rebellion and Civil War in Ireland, vol. ii. p. 323, &c.

"*A Journal of the King and Parliament's Ship the* Fellowship, *the second Voyage.*

(EXTRACTS.)

1644. *October* 12*th*, *Saturday.*—We set sail from Deptford about six o'clock in the morning.

November 4*th.*—About eight o'clock in the morning we weighed, with the wind at the N.W., and came into the Downs; and about twelve o'clock at noon, Capt. Willougby in the *Globe* came to an anchor by us.

7*th.*—The vice-admiral, Capt. Batten, came in the Downs; and a small vessel which was in the service, which came out of Ireland.

9*th.*—My Lord Admiral the Earl of Warwick,[1] the Earl of Pembroke, and the Earl of Holland,[1] came this night to Waymouth (Walmer) Castle.

December 20*th.*—About eight o'clock in the morning we gave chace to a vessel into the bay of St. Vallory; and there we met with the admiral of Holland and his squadron, being seven ships in all. About one of the clock we stood over for our coast, and the admiral and his squadron.

21*st.*—At noon we came to an anchor off the Spithead.

22*d*, *Sunday.*—In the morning we weighed, and the pilot came aboard of us, and went into Portsmouth.

1644-5. *January* 6*th.*—Colonel Goring his forces came down and plundered the town of Gosport; and about six o'clock at night they fired some twenty-four houses; and we, and the *Swiftsure*, and the *Mary Rose*, shot divers pieces of ordnance to them.

21*st.*—Came out of Portsmouth again, and came to an anchor at the Spithead.

February 4*th.*—About ten in the morning we weighed from the Spithead: about three o'clock my Lord of Broghill and his followers came aboard.

[1] See above, p. 4, note.

8th.—About one of the clock in the afternoon we came about the Old-head of Kinsale, and about two o'clock we came to an anchor within the harbour; and there my lord and his followers went ashore. God be praised for this safe arrival!

23d, Sunday.—About break of day in the morning we set sail; about eight o'clock we steered our course east.

24th.—About ten o'clock (in the morning) we came within St. Ann'head, and about eleven o'clock we came to an anchor about Prickspill, where we found our admiral in the *Leopard*, and four or five sail of merchantmen.[1]

April 1st.—There came into Milford, about eight o'clock in the morning, a small bark with some of the soldiers which had surrendered the castle of Duncannon to General Preston.[2]

4th, Good Friday.—About two o'clock in the morning we, and the small bark, set sail out of Milford.[3]

[1] "*March 24th.*—Capt. Batten, vice-admiral, came to the house, and had "their thanks for his good service, and a gratuity given him."—WHITELOCK, p. 138.

[2] Brother to Lord Gormanston, in the service of the Roman Catholics.—WARNER's Ireland, vol. ii. p. 229.

[3] "*April 9th*, 1645.—The Earl of Warwick laid down his commission of "lord admiral, in compliance with the ordinance for discharging the members "of both houses from all employment military and civil; but with a protesta- "tion of continuing his faithfulness, and endeavours to serve the public as long "as he lived: and some believed, that the precedents of the Earls of Essex, "Manchester, and Denbigh, were inducements to him to do the like. He did "gallant service in the time of his command for the parliament, and deserves "an honourable mention."—WHITELOCK, p. 141.

"*April 15th.*—Both houses agreed on a committee of six lords, viz. Essex, "Warwick, Northumberland, Pembroke, Say, North; and twelve commoners, "viz. Sir William Erle, Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Levelyn, jun., Sir "Christopher Wray, Messrs. Rolle, Green, Hollis, Selden, Rouse, Eden, Lisle, "and Whitelock, to manage the admiralty business."—Ib. p. 142.

But, "on the 28th of the same month, after a long debate, the Commons "resolved, that the business of the Admiralty should be managed by commis- "sioners of both houses, consisting of three; and those were, the Earl of War- "wick, and Mr. Bence and Mr. Pelham of the Commons' house."—Ib. p. 144.

24th.—We weighed from Donaghadee: we bore without Copeman Isles, and turned into the bay of Carrickfergus, and between one and two of the clock, afternoon, came to an anchor before the town. We found Capt. Willoughby, of the *Globe*, come from London to convoy Mr. Wiltshire, laden with provisions for the English at Belfast, riding in the bay, who saluted us. We answered him, and immediately he came on board.

25th.—Captain Willoughby and Captain Clarke came on board of us. Clarke complaining he wanted both bread and beer, we agreed to spare him what we could out of our ship, that the service of the state might be no way prejudiced by his want of provisions.

26th.—We went all ashore to speak with Major-General Monroe[1] for the better prosecution of the service, and to take his instructions therein.

27th, Sunday.—Capt. Willoughby, after evening sermon, being on board of me, the wind coming fair, we agreed to leave Clarke here to take in his beer; and we to take the opportunity of the wind to do what service we could abroad, and therefore weighed and stood out; but about nine of the clock, the wind chopping about, we were forced to put in again.

28th.—Captain Willoughby and myself went on shore on Bangwell-side, where we met with Captain Hamilton, who kindly entertained us, and with whom we spent some time in discourse concerning the affairs of these parts.[2]

[1] Commander of the forces supplied by Scotland against the Roman Catholics, in 1642.—WARNER, vol. ii. p. 196.

[2] "*May* 13*th*, 1645.—The Earl of Warwick reported to the lords, 'that 'some of the parliament's ships had taken a vessel in which was found a com-'mission from the king to grant licenses to all states to take up ships to be 'employed against the parliament. There was also another commission read, 'taken at the same time, constituting Sir Nicholas De Wit chief commander 'of a fleet of six ships or more, to do all possible mischief and hostility, in 'commerce or navigation, to every of his majesty's subjects, who were or 'should be then in rebellion against him.' Upon which the Earl of Warwick

May 14*th*.—At four afternoon we spied two sail turning to windward. We gave them chase till six of the clock; then, losing sight of them, were forced to give over our chase. About eight or nine of the clock it cleared up, and the *Jocelyne* came up to us, who had chased one of those sail a-shore, and so understood that they were Scotsmen from

" was ordered to give the house the state of the fleet, as it was then, in order " to obviate the dangers threatened by these two commissions. Next day, " May 14th, the said earl delivered in the following paper; which we give (say " the compilers), to shew that even the sea, in this civil war, was not exempt " from its share in the troubles.

' My Lords,

' In obedience to your lordships' commands, received yesterday, I do pre-
' sent unto you the state of the fleet now at sea, as followeth:

' The number of ships and vessels provided for this summer's expedition
' (besides six for guard of the fishermen and colliers) are forty-nine, whereof
' about ten are small vessels; and of them, some of little use but as packet-
' boats: which ships and vessels are thus to be disposed, viz.

' For a guard of the Irish seas, nine; whereof two are packet-boats; one
' employed remote on the north-west of Ireland.

' For the Scot's guard, in pursuance of the treaty, seven; besides one more
' that is to be taken up.

' Designed to the blocking of Bristol, seven; whereof three taken out of
' the other squadrons, and four additional, besides two shallops; and two other
' shallops for Weymouth.

' At Guernsey, for safeguard thereof, and blocking up Castle-Cornet, three.

' For convoy at the Downs, less cannot attend than five.

' There will be, through the whole expedition, in port, to revictual, repair,
' go up with prizes, &c., by estimation, five; *in toto*, thirty-six.

' So there will rest thirteen, upon which the performance of these services
' will necessarily depend: viz.

' The attendance of the enemies' ports in the west and north of England.

' The appointing of ships to lie before Ostend, Dunkirk, Newport, St. Malo,
' &c., to intercept ammunition, &c.

' The encouragement and relieving of the parliament's ports.

' The plying at sea, from the north of England to the Land's-end westward.

' The preventing and resisting of affronts for maintaining the sovereignty
' of the seas.

' And, considering the daily and great losses of our merchants by sea;

Bourdeaux, bound for Carrickfergus; and supposing us to be king's men-of-war, fled from us. After this, we standing to the eastward, spied three sail ahead of us standing to the northwards. We fitted our ships, made all the sail we could, and stood with them. About eleven of the clock we came up with them, and spoke with them: the one was Captain Peter

'The number of ships employed against the parliament, under pretence of 'his majesty's commission;

'The further preparation of shipping in Holland, Ostend, and other ports 'of Flanders, to infest the trade of this kingdom; and that if the enemy con- 'tinue to disturb the trade of the kingdom, and seize our ships, the enemy will 'be thereby furnished with a considerable fleet from ourselves;

'The custom and excise, whereby the preparations both by sea and land 'are maintained, will be much withdrawn;

'The merchants will be impoverished in their estates, and discouraged in 'their trade;

'The mariners will be partly necessitated, through want of employment 'here, and partly encouraged by the profitableness of employment elsewhere, 'to betake themselves to foreign services:

'I shall be bold, therefore, humbly to offer to consideration, whether the 'public service of the kingdom will not suffer, if a greater number of ships be 'not provided and set forth.'

"When this Memorial was read in the House of Commons, they next pro- "ceeded to name a commander-in-chief, or vice-admiral of the fleet for this "summer's expedition, and appointed Captain Batten for that expedition."— Parliamentary History, vol. xiii. p. 471.

"The list of the captains of ships for this summer's fleet (1645), under the "Lord Admiral the Earl of Warwick, was this day read and assented to by "the Commons. The list is as followeth:

Capt. Batten,	Capt. J. Jordan,	Capt. Wm. Man,
Blythe,	John Stansby,	Keyers,
Owen,	Hall,	Constable,
Somaster,	Wm. Thomas,	Pilgrim,
Bowen,	Howett,	Coppin,
Bethell,	Hazard,	Edwin,
R. Swanley,	Rich. Willoughby,	Lambert,
William Smith,	Edward Elliot,	Pacy,
Zachary,	Whitty,	Prate."
William Penn,		

Wappall, the other Mr. Trangmore, the third Mr. Partridge, laden with ammunition and corn, bound for Sligo. We commanded Captain Wappall aboard, who came; of whom we inquired, what news? He told us all was well, and the parliament never in a better condition, since these unnatural wars, than now it is, praised be God! only the condition of Wales was much to be lamented, the cavaliers being come down into those parts. Also, that the Haven was taken, and the admiral and vice-admiral, with the rest of the ships that rode at the Pill, were come down to the Angle, and rode there; which did much trouble us to hear. We lay with our sails in the brails till two in the morning, and then we bore away to Carrickfergus, all five of us.

20th.—Captain Clarke and myself went on shore to Carrickfergus to take leave of Major-General Monroe, where we suffered much evil language from a messenger of the lord lieutenant (Marquess of Ormond), and in the presence of Monroe, who did not so much as rebuke him for it.

21st.—I received letters from Major-General Monroe, to my Lord of Warwick, and the parliament of England, concerning my service done in these parts; together with other business.

22d.—We weighed, purposing to put over to the river Clyde, where we heard Capt. Kearse in the *Whelp* lay (who was appointed one of my squadron), to see what he did there, having been a long time expected at Carrickfergus; but the weather hindering of us, we coasted to and again for three days.

27th.—At one of the clock in the morning we weighed from the harbour of Olderfleet, bound for Milford, having completed my time to a small proportion of victuals, according to my instructions.[1]

[1] "May 31, 1645.

"*A List of such of the Navy Royal, as also of the Merchants' Ships, as are forth to Sea for this Summer's Expedition*, 1645, *in the Service of the*

June 2d.—About five or six in the morning we came to an anchor two miles from the *Bishops and Clerks*. At twelve at noon, we spoke with the *Spy* frigate, who told us sad stories of the cruelty of the cavaliers in Pembrokeshire, under the command of General Gerrard; together with the

and Parliament: together with their Names, Captains, Burdens, Number of Men and Ordnance in every Ship.

HIS MAJESTY'S SHIPS.

	Ships' Names.	Commanders.	Tuns.	Men.	Ord.
1	*James*, admiral's ship ...	Richard Blythe	875	280	50
2	*Andrew*, vice-admiral ...	William Batten	650	200	36
3	*Garland*, rear-admiral ..	Richard Owen	575	170	40
4	*Lyon*	Richard Swanley	600	170	40
5	*Bonaventure*	Henry Bethel	557	170	38
6	*Leopard*	John Bowen	520	160	38
7	*Antelope*	Edward Hall	512	160	36
8	*Entrance*	William Smith	539	160	38
9	*Swallow*	William Somaster	500	150	36
10	*John*	Robert Zachery	400	110	28
11	*Fellowship*	William Penn	300	110	28
12	*Globe*	Richard Willoughby .	300	100	24
13	*Sampson*	Richard Whitty	300	70	20
14	*Expedition*	Joseph Jourdan	160	100	18
15	*Mary-Rose*	Phineas Pett	321	100	28
16	*Providence*	John Stansby	260	100	18
17	*Hector*	Edward Elliot	300	70	20
18	*Eighth Whelp*	John Kearse	200	60	16
19	*Warwick* frigate	William Thomas	200	80	22
20	*Cygnett*	John Man	160	70	18
21	*Crescent*	John Edwin	140	50	14
22	*Star*	Robert Constable	130	60	16
23	*Hind*	Thomas Pilgrim	140	70	13
24	*Greyhound*	John Coppin	120	50	12
25	*Lilly*	John Lambert	80	45	8
26	*Nichodemus*	Thomas Pacy	80	45	8
27	*Duncannon* frigate	Samuel Howett	...	50	10
28	*Welcomb*, pink	John Green	...	45	8
29	*Charles* frigate	Robert Clark	50	26	6
30	*Dainty*, pink		...	25	4

unfortunate death of Capt. William Smith, late vice-admiral. Between five and six we came to an anchor at the Angle.

And truly we found these parts in a very deplorable condition; the chief inhabitants, with their wives, children, and families, securing themselves on board of the several ships

	Ships' Names.	Commanders.	Tuns.	Men.	Ord.
31	*Dove*	William Hazard	...	25	6
32	*Robert*	William Rew	...	40	8
		MERCHANT-SHIPS.			
1	*May-Flower*	Roger Phillips	405	121	29
2	*Const. Warwick*	John Gilson	300	120	26
3	*Anne and Joyce*	Thomas Jones	300	90	22
4	*True Love*	Gerv. Coachman	259	75	20
5	*Rebecca*	Stephen Rich.	250	75	20
6	*George Bonaventure*	John Crampe	243	73	20
7	*Nicholas*	Richard Bray	...	57	20
8	*Anne Piercy*	Thomas Smith	...	75	20
9	*Lucy*	Elias Drew	160	64	14
10	*Providence*	Roger Martin	180	54	16
11	*Joceline*	Robert Clark	196	59	12
12	*Magdalen*	John Hosier	185	56	16
13	*Covenant*	John Lawson[1]	140	45	12
14	*Mary and Anne*	Peter Wappal	150	20	12
15	*Spy* frigate	Andrew Davis	40	20	6
16	*Green* frigate	Thomas Farmer	30	12	6
17	*Sea-Flower*		...	40	4
18	*Defyance*	William Brooks	...	...	16
19	*Roe-Buck*	William Liston	80	50	10

RUSHWORTH, vol. vii. p. 144.

[1] This is the earliest mention I have met with of this gallant commander, afterwards the renowned Sir John Lawson. The only contemporary account of his origin that I have found, is in a letter from Mr. Samborne to the Lord Chancellor Hyde, dated Jan. 7, 1659–60, in which he says: "Lawson himself "was formerly a kind of fisherman (or little better) at Scarborough; after, "came to the preferment of a Newcastle collier; from thence, by degrees, to "what he is:"—(CLARENDON, St. Pa., vol. iii. p. 640, fol.) He was, then, vice-admiral of England for the parliament. Campbell states that he was at Hull, but knew nothing of Lawson's history until he became rear-admi England, in 1653.

and vessels then in harbour; their houses fired, their goods consumed, their corn, cattle, and all their present and future subsistence devoured and driven away; their mills burnt, the stones broken, women ravished, and many unheard-of outrages and cruelties committed; the barbarous enemy possessing the whole country, excepting the two towns of Pembroke and Tenby.

I went on board the admiral, Captain Richard Swanley, who told me of the unfortunate death of his vice-admiral (Captain William Smith), together with the manner of it, as it came by tradition to him; as also gave me notice of his intention to dispatch the hoy the next day to seek me out, and call me in, to possess the room of his vice-admiral. I likewise, according to my instructions, gave him an account of my proceedings since I quit this haven; and in what condition I found and left our brethren, the Scots, in the north parts of Ireland; and so for that night took my leave. In this haven, besides the *Lyon* and *Entrance*, *Regis*, were riding the *Leopard*, *Regis*, Capt. John Bowen, bound for London the first winds; the *Nicholas*, Capt. Bray, employed in the service; the *May-Flower*, Capt. Phillips, riding at Pennermouth, to stop the enemy's passage, and for the securing of our boats going to, and coming from, the town of Pembroke.

3*d*.—I went on board the admiral, who gave me a warrant to go on board and take possession of the *Happy Entrance*, *Regis*, and so to be his vice-admiral; himself, also, going on board with me, and making a speech for the same purpose to the company. I was joyfully received; and, by a general consent, accepted of, in the room and place of their deceased captain. The admiral, in regard of his urgent affairs, went on board of his own ship; desiring me, before he went, to go on board our own ship, *Fellowship*, taking William Lawrence, his lieutenant, with me; declaring to the company the admiral's and my desire, that, seeing I was to leave them, they would be pleased to accept of the said

Lawrence in my stead for their captain and commander, yielding obedience to him and his commands as they had formerly done to me and mine; in all which they did comply.

Happy Entrance Voyage.

4th.—In the morning the admiral came on board the *Fellowship*, making a speech in every particular correspondent to what I had the day before persuaded them to, who manifested their conformity by the same means they had to me. The admiral and I went on board Captain Clarke, the *Jocelyne*, to dinner. In the afternoon the admiral went on board his own ship, and I on board the *Fellowship*; we went to prayers; and then, beseeching God to bless them all, I took my leave of them. At my departure she gave me fifteen guns; and so coming directly on board the *Happy Entrance*, who gave me nine guns for my welcome, we went to prayers with them, and continued on board all night.

7th.—This morning a vessel came in from Plymouth, who told us that there was a general thanksgiving in all the churches there for the taking of Oxford.

10th.—Went on board the admiral, where James, Mr. Roger Lort's[1] man, came, and was examined, but to no purpose.

11th.—Mr. Lort's man, James, was again examined upon oath by the admiral, I being on board with him. Major-General Laugharne[2] sent to the admiral for two hampers of

[1] Mr. Lort is mentioned by Whitelock, p. 297, and also by Ludlow: he appears to have been sent to Ireland under some commission to correspond with the parliament.

[2] "Langhorn, (properly, Laugharn or Laughern,)" says Clarendon, "was "a gentleman of a good extraction, and a fair fortune in land in those counties "(South Wales); who had been bred a page under the Earl of Essex, when "he had a command in the Low Countries, and continued his dependence "upon him afterwards, and was much in his favour; and by that relation "was first engaged in the Rebellion, as many other gentlemen had been, "without wishing ill to the king."—History, vol. v. p. 143.

saddles, which were for him. He, understanding the enemy was intended to quit the country, driving away all their cattle from them, was resolved to fall upon the rear of them. We heard also, upon the examination of the said man of Mr. Lort, that the purpose of the enemy was, to draw their main strength out of these parts of the country; but would leave garrisons in several places, as in Haverford, Cary Castle, Mannerlyer, Picton Castle, &c.

12*th.*—A drum came from the shore on board the admiral concerning exchange of prisoners, which the admiral wholly referred to the major-general. The said drum informed us, that the French vessel, wherein our men and guns were, was driven on shore at Burrough-bar. The admiral writ, therefore, to General Gerrard,[1] that if he would release the seamen upon parole, he would, in like manner, release unto him as many, either sea or land's-men, that were, or should be, his prisoners; and would work with the major-general to a means for the more facile exchange of his commanders.

13*th.*—A gentleman that came from Stackpole dined with me this day, and reported that the enemy, with all their force, this morning marched from thence. About seven, at night, Willoughby Benson, a captain of the king's, taken prisoner, with a chyrurgeon with him, were sent on board our ship, with a warrant from the admiral for their diet and accommodation.

14*th.*—Some horsemen came down from Pembroke, and making a weft on the shore, our boat went to them. They, leaving their horses, came on board, who told us that the enemy was marching away; from whom, in their march, they had taken some cattle, and two or three cart-load of luggage. I went on board the admiral; and, having dispatched my business, he was pleased to come on board with me to supper. Captain Bray had his instructions to

[1] Commanding the king's forces in Pembrokeshire.

go to sea, and to ply between the Salters and Cape Clear, looking in sometimes to the ports of our friends for their encouragement.

15*th.*—Early in the morning came into this haven the *Duncannon*, from Tenby. Mr. Thomas Powell came from Tenby with Captain Howett, who, coming on board our ship, told me, that if the ships which were now at Tenby should be called from thence, as the admiral intended, the town would be in great and apparent danger. After dinner, I went on board the admiral to confer with him about it: at last, it was agreed upon that those ships which were riding there (which were Captain Willoughby in the *Globe*, Captain Jones in the *Anne and Joyce*, and Captain Hosier, who was hurt some two days ago in firing of a gun), should ride before the town till the enemy should forsake the country, or the town be in a better condition. A bark came from Dublin, who gave us to understand that Chester yet held out the siege.

16*th.*—I went on board the admiral, where we received information that our men issued out of Pembroke, and marched as far as Cary Castle; where, skirmishing awhile with some of the enemy's forces, taking some, and killing others; but, being very inconsiderable, again retreated. We received intelligence that General Gerrard had left this country, carrying with him 2000 men, and leaving 2000 with Colonel Price; but no certainty of this.

17*th.*—The admiral dispatched a letter to the major-general, desiring him to think upon some speedy and convenient course for the enlargement of our twenty seamen.

18*th.*—At six in the morning the admiral hung out a flag of council. I went on board; he told me, that the *Duncannon's* men refused to go to sea, according to his orders given to Captain Howett the night before. But Howett, coming on board, gave the admiral to understand that the case was altered, his men's minds changed, and they all contented to go to sea; but his officers being sent for, received a

severe rebuke from the admiral, and so returned on board again. About nine, Captain Howett set sail, bound for the province of Munster; being ordered to touch first at Youghall, to receive notice how the affairs went with my Lord of Broghill there; then at Kinsale.

19*th.*—In the morning, about six of the clock, came in the *Eighth Whelp* from the northward. The captain brought me two letters from the Marquess of Argyle, and likewise told us the news of those parts; that Montrose was beaten up into the mountains, and the business went reasonable well with Argyle.

The admiral shewed me a letter which he had received this morning from the major-general concerning the prisoners that were on board, desiring to have them sent up to Pembroke to him. Something else there was in the letter, which did not relish well with the admiral. He immediately sent for Capt. Phillips, and the masters of the fleet, to advise together, whether the prisoners should be sent to the major-general before our twenty seamen, taken in the French vessel, were set at liberty, or no? They all determined it was not fitting; only myself dissented, adjudging it somewhat unreasonable to detain any of the major-general's prisoners from him. For the reconciling of which difference, as also some formerly past between them, and to prevent further or future inconvenience, I desired to go to Pembroke, which, in the afternoon, I did. And having spoken with the major-general, begat a right understanding between him and the admiral, and so all thoughts of difference and discontent quite vanished away. And finding him very pleasant, I delivered him a petition from the *Lyon*, and our ship's company, in the behalf of the imprisoned seamen, which he seemed to like, and promised to answer; and was as good as his word.

20*th.*—I was at Pembroke with the major-general, about business of concernment the whole day.

21*st.*—In the morning the general sent a drum to the

enemy, about the enlargement of the seamen. By the same drum I sent the admiral's letter, wherein was intimated, that if they would not release them upon exchange, they should have a month's pay for each according to his office and quality; they also having their men released hereafter upon the same terms. Afternoon, I came down aboard my admiral, giving him an account of my proceedings at Pembroke.

23d.—The *John* came from Pembroke, wherein was Colonel Lewes, who brought us news of a great defeat the king had received some ten days past.[1]

24th.—The general departed to go on board the admiral, at which time I gave him five pieces of ordnance. We, coming on board the admiral, I observed very courteous behaviour pass between them, which I was joyful to see; and having staid there till near upon eight of the clock, he kindly took his leave.

26th.—After dinner I went on board the admiral; about three came in a ship from Carrickfergus bound for London, of which Mr. Wiltshire was commander. The news he brought was, that the Scots on our party, under the command of the Marquess of Argyle, had received a great defeat in the north of Scotland by Montrose.

27th.—I went on board the admiral, and supped with him and his wife, who gave me a letter which she brought from mine. I received a warrant from our admiral to put our ship in a readiness to sail to-morrow as soon as possibly might be.

30th.—Very early in the morning we were busy in taking in our provisions sent by the purser from Kinsale for us, all which was performed by eight or nine of the clock. I sent the admiral a letter by Captain Brown; then we stood off to sea.

July 4th.—In the morning we were fair by the harbour's

[1] At the battle of Naseby, in Northamptonshire, 14th June.

mouth of Cork. At one in the afternoon we anchored in Cork bay. Before three, Col. Ridgeway, Capt. Whitcroft, commanders of the fort, with three other gentlemen, came on board. I sent my lieutenant up in our pinnace to Cork, with a letter to my Lord of Inchiquin. About six, Col. Ridgway, with the other gentlemen, went on shore. At midnight my lieutenant came from Cork, who brought me word, that my Lord Inchiquin determined to be on board us the next day, and then would consult about the affairs of these parts.

5th.—At one in the afternoon my Lord Inchiquin, Col. Ridgway, and about half a score commanders, came on board, and dined with me. After dinner, his lordship gave me an order, under his own hand, to go to Kinsale; and there taking in 100 soldiers, which the governor would put on board me, I was to transport them to Youghall for the strengthening that place, being now besieged by the rebels. I was also to dispatch the *Duncannon* frigate with what speed might be, and send her away. The *May Flower* was to stay awhile at Cork, for the taking in of such soldiers as my lord should send on board him for the relief of the said besieged town of Youghall. My lord also requested me to furnish the town with what ammunition I could possibly spare.

About four of the clock we saw Capt. Claxton open of the harbour's mouth, who came then from Youghall, bringing with him the Ladies Broghill,[1] Barrymore,[2] the Lady Smith,[3] and many other women of quality, together with their children, and the best of their household stuff. My lord went on board Claxton; his lordship, and Sir William Fenton[4] who came

[1] The Lady Margaret Howard, third daughter of Theophilus, second Earl of Suffolk.—Lodge, vol. ii. p. 192.

[2] The Lady Alice Boyle, eldest daughter of Richard, the first Earl of Cork; sister of Lord Broghill; and widow of David, first Earl of Barrymore, who died the 2d September, 1642.—Ib. pp. 168, 298.

[3] Wife of Sir Percy Smith. See above, pp. 102, 3, note. [4] Ibid.

then from Youghall, took the ladies up to Cork in my pinnace, having the barge to bring up as many as conveniently she could.

6th.—No business; not a boat stirring, but our two that returned from Cork after the carrying up of my lord, &c. About eight in the evening we weighed, and plyed for Kinsale. As we were weighing, came in a boat from Youghall, by which we had news, that yesterday the town sallied out twice upon the enemy, and at the last sally had slain 300 upon the place, which caused the rebels to raise their close siege, and to sit down about three miles distant from the town.

7th.—Came to an anchor in the outward cove of Kinsale. I immediately went on shore to speak with the governor about the soldiers. The *Duncannon* frigate being already dispatched by the carpenters, I ordered the 100 soldiers to be put on board of her and another small vessel, which was here assigned for Youghall.

8th.—We were under sail by six in the morning; about five in the afternoon we came to anchor in the bay of Youghall, where we found Capt. Phillips, who that morning had landed the soldiers that were shipped on board him by my lord for the strengthening that town. Captain Boyle, one of the commanders of the town, came on board of me, and told me the condition the town was in. Capt. Bray and Capt. Howett did ride before the town, as was adjudged most convenient.

9th.—In the morning I went ashore, and dined with the governor, Sir Percy Smith. I told him the cause of my coming, which was to assist him in what I might. He presently desired me to order the *Nicholas* to ride at the south end of the town, and the *Duncannon* at the north end, that they might play upon the enemy with their great guns, if they should fall (as was much expected and feared) on either end of the town. This I consented to, though unwillingly; and ordered them to ride at these places, but to have a special

care of their ships. At five in the afternoon I came from the shore; the governor gave me five guns; I answered three in the barge. At the firing of the last gun, the piece not being well sponged, took fire, as one of our men was ramming home the cartridge, and so unhappily blew off one of his hands.

10*th.*—Sir Percy Smith, governor of Youghall, with four of his field-officers, coming on board our ship, took Captain Phillips in the way. I took our pinnace, and went unto them. We came all on board our ship, and there they dined with me. After dinner Sir Percy gave me a letter, wherein were specified the particulars of their several wants of ammunition, as also to have the barge to do them service. I answered him for the present, that I could do nothing of myself; nor was I able to furnish him so as I desired myself; I would therefore consult with the rest of the squadron, and so make return to him.

11*th.*—I called a council of war. The commanders being come on board, I shewed them Sir Percy Smith's letter, as also another from my Lord of Inchiquin to the same purpose. We consulted, and at last agreed to spare them out of each our stores what proportion of ammunition we could, as also our barge: as appeareth by our joint subscription, bearing the date *stantis.*

12*th.*—In the morning I sent my lieutenant on shore with a letter to Sir Percy Smith, to tell him that the enemy had removed their forces, which they in the town could not discover so well as we, being close besieged. Afternoon, my lieutenant returned from the shore, and came on board Captain Phillips, where I was; Captain Boyle being with him, who informed me it was the governor's request, that our barge might be spared to carry him up to Cork, he having letters from the governor to my Lord Inchiquin. I caused Captain Phillips to send up ten of his men with twelve of mine; and so Captain Boyle and our purser went up in the barge to Cork, about six in the afternoon. This

remove of the enemy caused me to retain the ammunition, we agreed to spare, as yet on board; lest the rebels should fall upon some other place that might have as much, if not more, occasion to use it.

13*th*, *Sunday*.—In the morning I received a letter from the governor, whereby I understood that the rogues were yet within two miles of the town, with their whole army; which was as bad, if not worse, than if they had begirt the town. He desired me not to depart the road until I heard further from my Lord of Inchiquin, the boat which brought my last, being rebound to him with letters from Sir Percy. I willingly consented, not intending to quit this place till I should see them (by God's goodness) better able to shift for theirselves. Some of the enemy's horse appeared on the east side within the harbour; at whom Captain Bray and Captain Howett made some shot, but did no execution, as we perceived.

14*th*.—After dinner I went on shore, and there received a letter from my Lord Inchiquin, whereby he desired, that if so be the enemy had raised their siege, I should immediately cause the 200 men which came from Kinsale and Bandonbridge to be transported to Kinsale again, and then expect further orders from his lordship. Sir Percy also received a letter from him, declaring his intent to fall upon the enemy's quarters the next morning by break of day; and therefore desired him to issue out of the town all the musqueteers he could well spare; that so, if it pleased God he should put them to the rout, they might be able to pursue. Sir Percy acquainting me with the design, I was willing to add my endeavours for the furtherance thereof; and therefore willed him to send out what he thought fitting, and I would that night send on shore a 100 able men to keep the town, which was accordingly performed: every man with his musquet, bandaleers, &c., to that number, marched into the town for the guard thereof. But my lord came not as was expected.

15*th*.—In the morning, Capt. Boyle returned from Cork,

by whom I had a letter from my lord, and acted according to the tenour thereof. About ten I went on shore; and perceiving the late intended design did not go forward, I commanded the seamen on board their several ships, the governor being willing to discharge them.

16*th.*—About eight in the morning the barge went on shore, and carried all the ammunition formerly agreed upon by a council of war, the powder only excepted. At ten, the *Charles*, my Lord of Inchiquin's frigate, came by us. I sent our pinnace aboard of her; and coming from Milford-Haven, brought me a letter from my admiral, whereby he acquainted me of 24 barrels of powder, 2 packs match, 1000 lbs. small shot, sent by the said *Charles* to my lord president: the frigate never anchored here, but plied away for Cork. As I was going on shore to Sir Percy Smith, I called on board of Captain Bray to know the reason of his shooting in the morning; and being on board his ship, we espied some men digging almost on the top of a hill, as if they would there make some work, and plant great guns to beat the shipping out of the harbour. But having viewed it well, we considered it could not any whit annoy us, or do them any good. Many poor people going out this morning to cut grass for their cattle, were killed or wounded by the rebels. After dinner, the governor and I went into the fort, and caused some shot to be made at the rebels working on the hill on the eastern side; but seeing it was but vain expense of powder, they being without the carrying of our guns point blank, gave them over.

17*th.*—By break of day, the enemy had made a fort of cannon-baskets on the east side, opposite to the town fort; and having drawn down three guns into their work, shot at the *Duncannon* frigate, she at them again; but by an unexpected accident (as we after were informed) the powder of their store took fire; which being blown up, she immediately sunk, and being but little more water than she drew, her stern was above water, when her bilge lay on the ground.

All those which were afore the mast suffered, in number 18, with one woman; she, with two of the 18, being, as was reported, in the powder-room, when the powder took fire. Seven more of the company were very much scalded and bruised; but, God be praised! we have hope of their recovery.

About ten of the clock I went with Captain Phillips on shore, and dined with the governor. Afternoon, word was brought the governor, that two of the enemy's boats were coming down the river; as was supposed, full of provisions or ammunition for the enemy on the eastern side. I being at that time with the governor, immediately caused our barge to pursue them; but ere our barge could come near to fetch them up, they were on shore where our men durst not go: the enemy having a party of men on the shore side ready to receive them. The governor, myself, Lieut.-Colonel Loftus, Lieut.-Colonel Badnedge, with some others, were upon the wall, taking upon us to view the pursuit of the barge; the enemy made a most unhappy shot from their fort on the other side of the water, which killed the two lieut.-colonels, and two soldiers; five others were carried away, supposed to be dead, but were presently found indifferent well, having no great hurt. Only the governor and myself escaped untouched, but with the stones which flew thick about our ears: for which deliverance God make me for ever thankful! We quit the fort, and went into a house hard by. I requested Sir Percy Smith to dispatch a messenger with this sad news to my Lord of Inchiquin, as also for some other officers in the room of those gentlemen that were slain; which he did the same night.

In the afternoon, the *Duncannon's* men that were scalded and hurt were brought on board our ship. I gave orders to Captain Howett to speak to his men to endeavour the saving of such sails and rigging as were not burnt; also, that the gunner would get as many guns out of her as he could

come at on the starboard side, she heeling to port, and her guns on that side being all under water. For that purpose, I had taken order that Captain Bray's carpenters should be assisting by cutting her ports wider, that her guns might be the easier gained. But the *Duncannon's* men answered, 'that they had already lost all they had in her, and would not now hazard the loss of their lives also; the enemy's work being so near, and they having no shelter for themselves, if the enemy should ply them with case-shot, as might be in all probability.' Captain Howett, whom I employed in this business, is best able to render an account hereof.

18*th.*—In the morning I sent the barge on shore to assist the *Duncannon's* men to save what might be, without any eminent or apparent danger, procured out of her; but their answer was as before. After dinner, I sent the barge in to Captain Bray, for fear the enemy bringing guns to the point, as we supposed, to beat him quite out of the harbour, he should not have a boat on board to carry out an anchor, if such occasion were.

19*th.*—In the morning, by break of day, the enemy had planted a gun on the eastward point of the harbour's mouth, and made divers shot therewith at Captain Bray, he at them again; but before he could get his anchors on board, two of his men were killed and two hurt by the rogues, who shot him between wind and water, and several times in the hull. At last, weighed, set sail, and, coming forth, anchored by us.

About nine, the barge carried the twenty barrels of powder (allotted by a council of war, the 11th present, for the town of Youghall) on shore, and took a receipt of the governor for them, which I received; with a letter also from him, desiring to take notice, that when he had occasion to speak with us, or have any recourse to us, the signal should be a fire on the top of the abbey-tower, near the point on the west side of the harbour's mouth. About three, afternoon, the *Charles*, my lord president's frigate, returned from Cork and anchored

by us, having on board her the powder, bullets, and match, that was sent by my admiral from Milford unto my lord, who ordered it for this town. About five, a small vessel arrived from Cork, with beef and bread sent by our purser for us; the master of the vessel told us, that, three days since, my lord took 500 head of cattle and other provisions from the rebels, and killed a hundred of those that were to conduct it to the camp before Youghall. At nine came in a small vessel from Cork, and brought three letters from my lord; one for Sir Percy, another for my admiral, and the third for myself.

22d.—At one, Captain Claxton came open of the bay, but anchored not, being bound for London. I sent a letter by him to the Right Hon. the Committee for the Admiralty, enclosed in one to Mr. Jessop.[1]

26th.—In the morning I received a letter from the governor, wherein he desired that six of our gunners might be sent on shore. I caused two of each ship to be sent, with a week's provision, and gave our two money to drink. A letter came to me from Mr. John Miller, major of the town of Youghall; I answered his and the governor's, and sent another to Lieut.-Colonel Finch, concerning some goods belonging to Lieut.-Colonel Loftus, lately slain.

28th.—In the morning I wrote unto Captain Phillips, as before to Captain Bray, for what minion or falcon[2] shot he could spare, together with paper royal; who sent me 20 falcon shot, and one quire of paper. I spared 30 sacre shot, and of paper one quire, being all the paper the gunner had left. Having these things in a readiness, I durst not send them, discovering three bodies of the enemy's forces upon the hills near the town. In the afternoon I went on board Captain Phillips, and stayed supper with him: about eight

[1] One of the clerks of the council under the parliament and during the protectorate; and, after the restoration, appointed secretary to the commissioners for accounts, in 1667.

[2] See (Appendix A.) Sea-Grammar, c. 14.

I came on board of our own ship again, and, half an hour after the watch was set, we espied a light upon the tower, according to the signal given by Sir Percy Smith; and, not long after, another. I sent our yawl ashore, and with her 30 sacre, 30 minion, 20 falcon shot, and two quires of paper, with a letter to the governor.

29*th.*—In the morning, about four of the clock, we espied a boat between the isle and the main, which not coming to speak with us, we shot at: the enemy made three or four shot at her also. I sent our pinnace to meet with her; she bore up and came on board, being laden with pilchards, bound in for Youghall, to deliver some of them there, but the wind being N.N.W. out of the harbour, she could not get in. I took in so many as filled seven hogsheads, preserving them with salt I had of mine own, knowing the necessity of the town for want of provisions. About ten at night, a fire was made as a signal for our boat to go on shore; but it being a very light night, and the enemy having lined the shore on both sides with musqueteers besides their great guns, with a boat lying at the harbour's mouth, rowing with eighteen oars, and we not having any boat convenient (our yawl being then on shore), I durst not adventure to send any.

30*th.*—About seven in the morning, our barge endeavouring to get ashore, was hindered by the enemy's approach to the western point of the harbour's mouth, and so was forced to retire on board again. At ten in the morning came in a vessel from Cork, with beef and bread for us. Our yawl coming out of the harbour, the enemy's boat chased her; we sent out our barge to her relief; the enemy made many great and small shot at her, from both sides of the harbour's mouth; but, God be praised! she came on board without any harm. She brought me a letter from the governor, with a packet to my Lord Inchiquin, which I hasted away by the master of the vessel that brought us our provisions, with a letter of my

own to his lordship. About three in the afternoon I sent some oils for medicaments the governor wrote for, with 20 falcon shot, and a letter, in the yawl; ordering the barge, for the more safety, to go along with her. But drawing near the shore, the enemy plied them very thick with great and small shot; and their boat ready in the harbour to surprise them, they durst not attempt the going in, but returned on board again. There were also some letters from the lord president to the governor, which I sent by the yawl, and would gladly have had delivered, but it could not be. Yet I returned not those letters back to my lord, in hope we should be able ere long to work our passage. I sent Captain Phillips his pinnace to cause our barge (then coming on board) to make for the westward side of the harbour, to intercept three boats of the enemy's which were making thitherward, but the barge came too late. The enemy plied the town very hard this afternoon and all night. I ordered our barge and pinnace to guard the westward side of the harbour, and Capt. Phillips's long-boat and pinnace the eastward; gave them a word and signal to know each other at a distance, charging them to be assistant to each other in what they might.

31*st.*—In the morning, the boats returned early from watch; but in regard I saw so many of the enemy's boats abroad, I caused our boats to be manned with a fresh crew, and sent them out again about noon. Five of the boats belonging to the enemy gave chase to Captain Phillips's long-boat, his pinnace and mine being then on board; and the barge being far to the westward, like to be engaged, we dispatched our pinnaces for her relief; which the enemy seeing, they immediately retreated. Some shot were made the whole day between our boats and the enemy by the sea-side, without any visible or apparent detriment on either side. This night, about ten, and to all night, the enemy and the town were at hot service.

August 1*st.*—In the morning, early, the boats came from

watching. I sent a fresh crew in them, having continued all day abroad scouting to and again; many shot passing between them and the shore, but not a boat of the enemy's stirring. About seven they came on board; I caused them to be new manned, and, after the watch was set, sent them away to scour up and down, looking for the enemy's boats, and so to spend the whole night.—The enemy made not many shot at the town this day.

2*d*.—The boats, having spent the night in coasting and watching for the boats which belong to the enemy, came this morning early on board; which, with a fresh gang, I sent away again immediately. At ten, Captain Bray arrived here from Cork, and anchored by us; he brought some provisions for the town sent by my lord: the particulars I have in a note by itself, but we cannot as yet with safety adventure it in. Very few shot either from the town or rebels this day, save some great guns in the morning. Our men being almost quite tired with continual watchings in the boats, both night and day, and the rebels not daring to send a boat out, I kept ours on board this night.

3*d*, *Sunday*.—About one in the morning, the barge came from Cork, which brought me four letters from my lord president. At two, I sent our boats again to coast along the shore, but seeing none of the enemy's boats to stir, about nine they came on board again. At ten, I dispatched away a letter to my lord by our barge.

4*th*.—About one, afternoon, the *Charles* frigate came to an anchor here. She brought provisions for the town, which we took in. Not long after, the soldier being close besieged within the town, and we able to do him no good without, nor at present to gain so much as intelligence of their condition, it was unanimously agreed upon, for the soldiers' encouragement, as if some extraordinary news were now arrived to us, to fire some guns on board each ship. Whereupon we shot seven, the *May-Flower* and *Nicholas* five a-piece.

'*To Captain Swanley, Admiral, &c.*

SIR,

I profess, in the presence of Almighty God who knows the secrets of all hearts, I have been as industrious, both night and day, for the advantage of this place, as might be imagined; yea, more than was by my Lord of Inchiquin and the governor expected, as by divers expressions, in sundry letters, they have manifested. But now the enemy hath quite blocked up the harbour, having planted great guns, whereof they have store (from whom God knows); so that we cannot pass in or out to relieve the distressed place, nor gain any intelligence from it: but if God give a blessing to it, we are now upon a design to effect, and make no question of compassing it. I confess it is somewhat desperate, yet I know a desperate disease requires desperate cure.

Sir, it is my most earnest desire to hear from you with all speed, having sent this frigate for that purpose; as also to receive such convenient supplies as may be made, both victualling and ammunition; or else, a speedy order to quit this place: which yet cannot, without great hazard, be done. One of the two must with all celerity be performed, for I have not a fortnight's provision on board. The enemy is very careful to take all advantages; and, God be praised! the party in the town is as careful to give as few as possibly may be. The great guns have, for this four or five days, plied it hard on both sides. They have had six of our gunners on shore above this week; with whose help (I giving directions) they have recovered two of the best guns out of the *Duncannon*, which I have sent, and 142 shot, into the town: to the shame of the *Duncannon's* men be it spoken. Nor yet are all the *Duncannon's* men to blame: the captain and master, having been very active, are much deserving.

I desire your pardon if once more I urge speed in your dispatch; such important consequences as these admit not

of the least delay, without eminent and apparent danger. Therefore pray, sir, take advantage of the first opportunity (if there be no supply from England) to order me one way or other, as you in your wisdom shall conceive most conducing to the public good of the state, and the particular of this place.

For the design of the relief of the town, Captain Clarke will be able to give you an account, *vivâ voce*. We have taken occasion, by his coming, to discharge some guns out of policy, as if he had been the messenger of some good tidings; thereby to hearten the town (if God see good); and to abate the courage of the enemy, for suppressing of whose boats we have our boats abroad, night and day; which calls for a necessary expense both of match and powder, and I desire it may be taken into serious consideration; as also, a return may be made by Captain Clarke for the fortnight's provision the *Duncannon's* men have had.

Sir, I am loth to be tedious, considering yours, as mine own affairs, may call you aside; yet I beseech you to take some thought for my supply, and that with great haste; for which, as for the favours formerly received, I do, and shall ever acknowledge myself engaged; and craving pardon for this importunity, I take leave to be,

Honoured Sir,

Your humble servant to be commanded,

WILLIAM PENN.'

5th.—About two in the morning, arrived here a bark laden with provisions from Cork; being all that possibly could for the present be gleaned by my lord. The master of the bark, notwithstanding the particular engagements of wife and children in the town, yet seeing how the enemy had blocked up the harbour, refused to go in. I told him, what a shame it were for him to neglect his family in so

great necessity, and how much his timorousness would discourage others; yet all this would not work upon him. At last I told him (by God's blessing) his bark, being a fitting vessel for that purpose, should go in; and if he would not adventure willingly, he should be seized to the mast, and carried in whether he would or no. At last, having considered on it, he consented to go in. I put on board of him six barrels of powder from our own ship, four from Captain Phillips, and four from Captain Bray, with such oil as I had, at the request of the governor, formerly gotten for medicaments for the wounded soldiers, which I attempted before to send in, in our yawl. And for the better enabling this bark in her passage, we manned her, moreover, with four men out of each ship. I gave our men half-a-crown a-piece to encourage them; fitted them with arms, fireworks,[1] &c.; and having all things in readiness, it fell stark calm. We went to set the watch, and about nine it blew very fresh out of the S.S.E. The bark weighed, and went in without receiving so much as one shot of all the enemy made at her: God be praised for his mercy! The soldier was much encouraged hereby.

6th.—We heard, that upon the firing of our pieces two days before, the soldiers received such hopes of good news, that they sallied out, took one piece of ordnance, unspiked another, and threw it over the cliff, being too heavy for them to carry with them, and killed near upon, if not altogether, 300 of the rogues upon the place.

7th.—About four in the morning we weighed. We met with a vessel from Kinsale with provisions for Youghall, by which vessel I sent to the ships I left riding in Youghall bay, to take special care of her, and orders for her going in. We came in sight of Cork harbour before night.

9th.—Two boats from Youghall came up hither, which

[1] Appendix A. Sea-Grammar, c. 14.

brought news, that the rebels had removed their siege, lying now somewhat more remote from the town. We dined at the fort, where we were friendly entertained. We left Cork about four in the afternoon, and went on board a little before night.

11*th.*—This day my lord president, Colonel Ridgway, Sir William Fenton, with divers others of the chief commanders, came on board our ship, and dined with me. About three in the afternoon his lordship took boat, and went for Cork. I received him with five guns, and took leave with seven. Colonel Ridgway and the rest stayed supper. At their departure I gave them five guns.

13*th.*—This morning the *Charles* frigate, Captain Clarke, came in and anchored by us. He came from Milford with soldiers for the service of this kingdom. Between three and four arrived here the *Trial* pink, with soldiers also; on board of whom was Captain John Crowther,[1] sent to take the command of our ship *Entrance*, who came on board.

15*th.*—At break of day, Captain Crowther and myself went together in our pinnace up to Cork. Captain Crowther left me at Cork, and returned on board the *Entrance*.

16*th.*—This afternoon came in a boat from Youghall, who brought news, that the rebels were removed six miles from the town. I returned from Cork this night.

18*th.*—Having formerly heard some muttering among the company, arising (as I conjectured) upon change of commanders; and fearing it should beget, or break forth into, some mutinous distemper, and so reflect upon myself as unwilling to resign my command; I endeavoured, by many persuasive arguments, to allay it. And, having pacified the most, and persuaded the rest, between eleven and twelve at noon I caused the whole company to be assembled upon the

[1] Appointed, by the commissioners for the admiralty, vice-admiral of Ireland, *vice* Capt. W. Smith, deceased, whose place Penn had supplied *ad interim*.

deck, and, in their presence, freely delivered up my interest into Captain Crowther, who was received by them.

22d.—About nine we weighed in the *Entrance*, with the *May-Flower*, the *Flower*, and the *Charles* frigate, bound for Youghall; but Capt. Crowther espying two sail, and willing to give chase, ordered Captain Phillips and the *Flower* for Youghall. I went on board Captain Phillips, and about three, afternoon, we came to anchor in Youghall bay. Captain P. and I went on shore about some business with the governor, where we stayed that night.

23d, Saturday.—My minister this morning gave the soldiers a sermon at the church in Youghall. We dined with the governor; and having dispatched our affairs, came on board. About eleven at night we weighed, and set sail for Milford-haven.

24th.—In the afternoon, about four of the clock, we anchored in Milford, where I expected the *Fellowship*, but found her not.

25th.—I wrote letters to the Right Honourable the Committee for the Admiralty, giving them an account of my proceedings during the command of the *Entrance;* as also many other letters, which I committed to the care of Captain Phillips, being bound for Bristol to my admiral.

'*To the Right Honourable the Committee for the Admiralty.*

Milford Haven, 25—30 Aug. 1645.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

My most humble service, seconded by my best endeavours, prostrate themselves at your honors' feet. While I had the favour to serve the parliament in the late trust reposed in me, both since my vice-admiralty, which was but short, and before, I have endeavoured to perform my duty with fidelity and diligence, prompted thereunto by no other design but an ardent desire to advance God's and my country's service;

which endeavours of mine (though but mean in themselves) have not, through the blessing and goodness of God, been without some visible advantage to the public and private good of those parts, wherein, as most necessary, I most applied myself; as the several occurrents in my last unto this honourable committee, bearing the date of the 22d of the forepassed month, will particularly inform; but shall reserve the more ample relation till it please God to bring me personally before your honours, which is my hearty desire. In brief, then, be pleased to take notice: [*here follows an abstract of the journal.*]

The town, by the mere mercy of God, being thus beyond expectation supplied, and in the midst of this their great necessity. The commanders, yea, the common soldiers too, behaved very gallantly; and (under the good favour of this honourable committee be it spoken) pity, great pity it were, such forward and gallant spirits should want encouragement. Thus the enemy, having lain long, and finding no possibility to starve, and having not courage enough to storm the town, (no good successes favouring their undertakings) broke up their quarters and removed; and yet are not so far removed but that they still, and that many times, infest the inhabitants, which might by a convenient supply be happily prevented.

The 7th of this instant, considering the work was thus far completed, the siege somewhat removed, my provisions much shortened, my stores almost exhausted, I weighed (the governor, I confess, very unwilling to part with me). I went for Cork, to advise with my lord concerning my quitting of the coast, and repair to Milford. His lordship no sooner heard of my arrival, but came on board; was very much moved with my proposal, yea, so much that he offered, notwithstanding their own present, and to be feared future, scarcity, rather to supply me with a fortnight's, or, if possible, a month's provision of what he could, than admit of my departure. Having therefore watered, &c., and being ready

to sail for Youghall again, in came the *Trial* pink, with Captain John Crowther; the cause of whose coming I understood by my lord's frigate, and received him on board, and with him an order from this honourable committee to resign my charge of that ship, *Happy Entrance*, unto him: (which) for my part I willingly yielded unto, though the company manifested much unwillingness, unless to mutiny; but having received him, and shewed him very civil respect for three or four days together, the better both by words and gesture to win them to a friendly acceptance, I gave him quiet possession, and quit the ship to repair to Milford, and there to expect the *Fellowship;* and, with her, further instructions for the northern parts. In obedience to all which, as also to manifest my cordial compliance with this honourable committee, I am, by God's mercy, here arrived, and wait the approach of the said ship. I pray God, my endeavours in the north may prove as prosperous as those in the south have done. He who is the searcher of hearts, knows how solicitous I have been for the advance of the public good of those parts; how studious to manifest them, on good grounds, to God and good men; and God so prosper all the rest of my honest undertakings. I make no question, being once so happy as to wait upon this honourable committee, I shall be able to give satisfaction; and shall then expect the guerdon due to real and unfeigned endeavours. In the meantime, I beseech you pardon this my prolixity, desiring to live no longer than I live in your esteem to be, and that truly too,

Your Honours' ever devoted,

And very humble Servant,

WILLIAM PENN.'

The Third Voyage of the Fellowship, *Regis, under my command.*

1645. *Sept. 15th, Monday.*—Having continued here, in Milford, above three weeks, daily expecting the *Fellowship* to come, and being weary of doing nothing, the king's forces also having forsaken these parts, saving some few garrisons, as Mannerlyre, Picton, &c.; at last, by God's goodness, this day, about four in the afternoon, Captain Lawrence brought her in, with letters, instructions, and commission, from the Right Honourable the Committee for the Admiralty.

'*To Captain Crowther, Vice-Admiral, &c.*

Sir,

Your respects returned with interest. I received yours, bearing the date of the 12th present, for which I return many thanks; as also for your careful solicitation of Capt. Lawrence his dispatch hither, who could not come sooner than expected and desired. My request to you is, that you would be pleased to inform my two thrice-noble lords, of Inchiquin and Broghill, how much I am their servant, and how much I study to express my service by some real act, if time and opportunity do give leave. For news, I do refer you to Captain Jones, the bearer hereof, who will be able to satisfy you in that particular. All things go well, very well (God be thanked) with us. Thus, not having else at present, I commit you to the protection of Him who ever protecteth his, and take leave to be,

Sir,

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

W. P.'

'*To Sir Percy Smith.*

MOST HONOURED SIR,

I am now upon entering my ship again, and so am somewhat more than ordinary busy; yet not so busy but I can trouble you with a line or two, to present my service to yourself, and my most humble respects to my most endeared good lord, my Lord of Broghill, if at Youghall with you. You may please to receive by Captain Jones the provisions, specified in my last, designed for that place. I am commanded by my admiral to attend the service of this haven, till he shall return from Bristol; if in any thing, therefore, I can do you a good office, I am confident you may command it from him who hath ever bowed to be,

Sir,

Your engaged servant to command,

W. P.'

16*th*, *Tuesday*.—In the morning I re-entered the *Fellowship*, and took possession of her. The admiral sent me instructions to continue riding in this haven, for the guard thereof, as also to make sale of prize-goods, and to furnish the army with such ammunition and provisions as they wanted, and our stores afforded; and, in all other matters wherein the state might be concerned, and the public good advanced, to act in his absence as he himself. I told him, I was ordered by the committee for the north of Ireland. He returned answer, that he had no such order for my going thither, nor had he any other ship here for the guard of this harbour, &c.; the *Globe* being already designed for those parts, and having taken in four months' provision (as much, if not more than was on board us) for that very purpose. He further alleged, that upon the *Globe's* going, we might well be spared, at least till he (I mean my admiral) should return

from Bristol, or the state's further orders: there being as many, if not more, ships than were usually wont to be upon that coast; nor was it any more than an exchange, the *Globe* for the *Fellowship*, and Captain Willoughby for myself."

This opposition, of the committee's and his admiral's instructions, gave Penn much uneasiness. To obtain a reconciliation between them, he wrote the following letters to the committee, Mr. Jessop, clerk of the council, and Vice-Admiral Batten:

"' *To Mr. Jessop, Clerk of the Council.*

Milford Haven, 25th September, 1645.

I cannot sufficiently express my thankfulness for those many favours formerly received, being more than can be numbered, and greater than can be requited; yet, if you stand not by me, and for me now, I may conclude myself in a lost condition. For, whereas I received orders and instructions from the honourable committee for my service to the north of Ireland; before my ship came about, Captain Willoughby, in the *Globe*, was assigned for that employment, and he, with the *Jocelyne*, and two other small ships, to ply to and again upon that coast, and the north of Scotland; so that having a sufficient guard for those parts, I, by the consent of my admiral, forbore to prosecute my former directions. If the committee should evilly resent this, and conceive a neglect or contempt of mine, I have (I hope) a friend in you, in whom I am confident I may repose trust for clearing of my honest intentions; with my desire, to live no longer than I may be able and active to serve their honours and my country, in what I may that may be most advantageous. If this conceit should rise high, you may be pleased (as I know you will) to inform them, that the *Globe* is a ship of equal force,

and less draught, and therefore more fitting for those parts than the *Fellowship*; besides, Captain Willoughby, a man exactly experienced in, and much desired by, the inhabitants of those parts. And, sir, yourself may remember, by a letter from Major-General Monroe to my good Lord of Warwick, that he rather desired smaller ships than of such force, though in the summer time; much less shall they be able to advantage him in the winter, being not able to stir abroad, but must be forced only to keep the harbour.

Let me run the hazard of your displeasure (which I would not hazard for any thing that men count near or dear unto them) if I would baulk any employment whatsoever that is honest, which might further the common cause, or promote the weal of either kingdom. I shall therefore presume of your noble favour (which I esteem precious) herein; as also, by your goodness procured, expect further directions, and that with speed, before my admiral's return from Bristol, who hath commanded me (there being no other ship of force residing here) to keep this haven, and look to such prizes as are here, and put to sale such goods as are therein, and look for what instructions, whether by land (the passage being now obstructed) or by sea, which I fear may prove the longer, I shall receive. I shall readily frame myself accordingly, and manifest one day such endeavours of yours have not been cast away on barren ground. In the meantime, trusting upon your never-failing goodness, I commit the issue to God's blessing, your fair and friendly assistance, and take leave to be

Yours, &c.

W. P.

P.S. I desire your presence in reading the enclosed before the honourable committee, that the objections which shall be then made, may by your wisdom be soon taken off; for all the ships we have abroad are thereabouts disposed already, and what shipping is in Munster, their provisions being

exhausted, are ready to return home; so that only the admiral and vice-admiral will be remaining on those parts.'

'*To Captain Batten, Vice-Admiral of England, &c.*

MOST HONOURED SIR,

After the presentment of all due respects and justly-merited engagements to yourself and my good Mrs. presented; these are only a little (under your good favour be it written) to hint you of a wonder, indeed a wonder to me; namely, that notwithstanding the present opportunity of Captain Hall, his known arrival in this haven, and my often importunity in pleading, yet cannot gain a line or two from you: no, not to give notice whether you received any of mine bearing date of August, wherein I presented an account unto yourself in particular, and to the state in general, of my proceedings during the time of my vice-admiralty in the province of Munster. Nor can I obtain the favour of intelligence, whether my last, bearing date the 13th last, came to your hands or not; and this either makes me doubt of their delivery, or wonder at your silence: when as my greatest study is to do you what acceptable service I may; yet, fearing the first, I presume once more to record the particulars thereof to yourself, as also the cause of my continued stay in this harbour, notwithstanding my (former) order from the committee to the contrary, (they) having designed me for the north of Ireland; as also to render a true account of such occurrences as have intervened since my last.

Sir, be pleased to take notice, that before the arrival of my ship into this haven, my admiral had sent away Captain Clarke in the *Jocelyne*, with two other small vessels most usual for that place, and most complying with the request of Major-General Monroe, who rather desired small than such great and unwieldy ships, at especially this winter time,

as by his letter to my Lord of Warwick appears. Besides, Captain Willoughby, a man of known experience in those parts, coming from the Isle of Ila and the Sound of Mull, &c. (forced from thence by his want of provisions), according to order, put in here, (and) was re-victualled for four months; as much, if not more, than my ship had when she came here; and so was ordered for the north parts of Ireland and Scotland to ply to and again between them, for the securing of our friends, and interrupting the enemies of our peace; and so, conceiving it an unnecessary charge for the state (whose welfare hath been, and always shall be, tender to me), to have so much, yea, more shipping there now than ever heretofore, I was rather willing to follow the order of my admiral in this particular, than the order from the honourable committee; the care of the public ever reserved.

Now, my admiral's order was, that (seeing he was to go up himself to Penart-road, to reduce the Welsh counties into obedience to the parliament, which could not better be done than by his being there, and countenancing the Glamorganshire men in their intention to meet with our major-general (Laugharne), being now upon his march,) I should continue here until his return; not only to secure the haven, but also to take care of all such prizes and prize-goods as were already here, or should in the interim be brought in hither, and make sale of them for present monies, as occasion and opportunities were offered, for the best advantage of the service, which I have faithfully and carefully performed; as also paid 1700*l.*, sent by the state for those parts, to the major-general and the (Glamorganshire) committee jointly. I have disposed of most of the ammunitions and provisions sent by Mr. West in the *Roebuck*, and have received the 1120*l.*, and secured it; which, together with the eighty-four hogsheads of beef and pork which came in the *Antelope*, Captain Hall, have very much furthered the forces in these parts, and encouraged them on their march towards Carmarthen, which I beseech

God may be prosperous; nor do I doubt it, in regard they so willingly and readily advanced there. Things could not have come forth to action, without some special care and industry.

Now, my admiral having been some time abroad, and not yet returned, I, not being inbred to lie in harbour, and much abhorring such, in my esteem, an inefficient life, humbly besought the honourable committee (now some time past) to send down further order, whereby for the future I might manifest my former zeal and activity for the advance of the public weal of my own dear kingdom, and those that are engaged in the common cause. If there shall be any sinister constructions made, either in your hearing or to your knowledge, of my not sailing to Carrickfergus, (it being, to them that know it, no place to winter in,) pray, sir, be pleased to concert it to the best, as no neglect of mine, nor the state's service undervalued. 'Tis but the exchange of the *Globe* for the *Fellowship*, and Captain Willoughby for myself; which case is, in a manner, one and the same. Not being certain of the account's coming to the hands of the honourable committee, I have here once more enclosed it, desiring it may be delivered to Captain Cranley, and so to the committee; to whom I sent it, bearing the date 23rd past, but going over land, am very doubtful of the delivery. Thus, desiring nothing more than that what I do may be advantageous to the state, acceptable to you, and profitable to my country, I take leave to be,

Sir,

Your ever acknowledged servant,

W. P.'

'*To the Right Honourable the Committee for the Admiralty.*

Right Honourable,

Having received orders and instructions from your honours for my repair to the north of Ireland, for the guard of those

parts and passages there, which I should with all willingness and readiness have observed; but things happening otherwise than was expected, for account of which, please to admit these particulars.

First, the *Fellowship* being long, that is, the 15th present, before she came into the harbour; Capt. Willoughby (having expended his provisions in the service of the state in the Sound of Mull and the isles of Scotland), returning hither, was ordered by the admiral to take in four months' provisions more; and being very well experienced in that coast, and in those parts, was sent away for Carrickfergus, after Capt. Clark in the *Jocelyne*; with another frigate gone, and one more to go after; to ply to and again upon that coast. So that, when the *Fellowship* came in, the admiral and myself, under the favour of better judgment, thought it altogether unnecessary for my ship to follow; considering they have as great, if not a greater guard than formerly.

Secondly, the *Fellowship* being of a great draught, and very unwieldy, is altogether unfitting for that employment in winter time; nor can I lie in harbour, who have always affected action; nor dare I (with this ship) venture to sea in that place and that time, according to the judgment of the most knowing men, and best experienced in those parts.

Thirdly, the admiral, being bound up the river for to draw in the Welsh counties to comply with Pembroke, there being no other shipping of force here, ordered my stay in this haven till he return, to act in his stead, for the delivery of the money assigned to this county (which I have since his departure paid); for to look to such prizes as are here already, and making sale of their goods to the best advantage, or such as in the interim should be brought in hither, where I yet lie (though unwillingly), expecting your further orders before the admiral return; that so no time may be lost, wherein the public good may be advantaged.

I have not yet been, I hope I never shall be, guilty of

such a crime as to neglect the service of my country; but have much desired to spend, and to be spent, in and for the public good. If your honours, then, shall be pleased to accept of these as any way satisfactory, and dispatch further orders and instructions, wherein I may serve the general and satisfy the particular, I shall manifest my obedience by all ready and willing compliance; but in regard of the former dispose of Captain Willoughby in the *Globe*, a ship of equal force and less draught, and a man well experienced in, and much desired of the inhabitants of those parts, I forbore, upon my admiral's advice, to run the hazard of an unanswerable and unserviceable voyage; and so shall expect your honours' further pleasure. Yet, had my design continued, there had as yet been no wilful neglect; the winds, which have been very high, not suffering to steer a northern course, since the *Fellowship* arrived into this haven.

I refer myself wholly to your honours' wise dispose; to whom I desire I may appear to be, what in truth and realty I have bowed to be,

Your honours' most devoted servant to command,

W. P.'

'*To Capt. Batten, Vice-Admiral of England, &c.*

MOST HONOURED SIR, Milford Haven, 1645.

My dutiful respects to yourself and my good Mrs. presented. I was not a little joyful to hear from you, and that you take in good part my compliance with Captain Crowther. Sir, your request hath power to work far more upon me, than so; and your own sufferings (your deserts having been so meritorious), do much add unto mine. I would not be mistaken; what discontents[1] I have already

[1] Probably, disappointment in being displaced by Crowther.

vented, have been only to yourself, with whom, by whose favour, I have presumed so far. I have so mastered my passion, that some, and that very serious observers, could have no advantage. 'Tis not small joy to me to read that expression: 'You could wish me one of your expected fleet 'to be sent by my admiral.' I should conceive it none of the meanest happiness (rather than spin or indeed ravel away my time and provisions in a lazy kind of life, by keeping the harbour; which cannot be otherwise, there being no other ship in harbour), to act according to the account given lately by my last; some expression wherein be pleased to pardon, having since received yours: for, indeed, nothing so much grieved me, as that I could not hear from you.

Sir, the major-general (Laugharne), with his forces, have been upon the advance this week, and have, as we hear, taken Carmarthen on Saturday night. We expect to be further informed by the next. Bear with the infirmity of him, who desires nothing more than to manifest himself,

Sir,

Your devoted servant,

W. P.'"

During his confinement to Milford-haven, which lasted nearly to the end of January, he wrote the following letters, among many others; the dates of which being wanting, it is not easy to arrange them accurately, from the matter of their contents.

"*To Secretary Jessop.*

NOBLE SIR, AND MY EVER-HONOURED FRIEND,

My very humble respects to yourself tendered. Since my last, bearing date the 25th of September, I earnestly expected, as therein desired, your fair and favourable answer thereunto;

and the rather, because I would be satisfied how the honourable committee were pleased to apprehend my stay in these parts, being ordered for the north of Ireland. As then I intimated, so now I make bold to inculcate my willingness and readiness to do the state any service, in any place wherein and where, with good advice, I might be most advantageous. I hope my reasons then (and my intentions now and ever) did meet with fair and reasonable interpretations; as from such, and so qualified, I cannot, dare not doubt.

Dear sir, be so auspicious[1] as to afford a line or two for satisfaction herein; and, if it be possible, procure me some instructions for the manifestation of my realty[2] in the public service, for I grow weary with doing nothing. Though, truly and indeed, I cannot say I have been doing nothing since my admiral quit this haven; as by particular account hereafter may appear. In general, the supplying with, and disposing of, arms and ammunition to the soldiers here, the procuring of provisions for shipping, the putting to sale of prize-goods for the best advantage, together with divers other employments requiring of care and industry, have ever since taken me up; but yet, *hoc aliquid nihil* in respect of my former activity. Now, if I might but gain some order by your favour, I shall in this as in all, and ever, acknowledge myself engaged.

Yours, &c. W. P."

" *To the Lord of Inchiquin, Lord President of Munster.*

RIGHT HON. AND MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

To whom for ever I acknowledging myself engaged, and to whose service I shall ever be devoted (desiring the con-

[1] Kind (SHAKESP.)—JOHNSON. [2] Loyalty.—TODD'S JOHNSON.

tinuance of your lordship's favour, though to so unworthy a subject), have a deep sense and apprehension of the sad condition of that province, whereof your lordship hath the presidency, engraven by an ocular demonstration on my heart and my most serious thoughts; and, in my most serious thoughts, I could not at present better manifest my zeal for the public, and my care for the private good of those parts, than by soliciting the gents., in these, for the conveyance of their corn over unto your honour, and you may suppose upon such conditions as will be relished, that is, in beef, tallow, and hides; which your lordship may make good for the first barter, but if not, the admiral and myself have promised to see those gents. satisfied. And, for the transport of such corn, &c., which was the grand dispute, it is already agreed upon, that barks shall be taken up upon the public faith, to free your honour from further charge or trouble.

The admiral, whom I find very ready to comply, at the present motion, in any thing for your lordship's furtherance, upon the receipt of your honour's letters (he being then near Bristol), made a motion to the general, Sir Thomas Fairfax, for the dispatch of some supply for Munster, who very nobly gave order for the taking up of provisions, for which he would see the committee of Somersetshire fairly contented.

I hope, my ever to be honoured Lord, to see the bellies of those poor souls, lately transported over, well lined; I could wish I might see their backs as well clad, but, *ultra posse non est esse;* I cannot hammer out a supply of clothing, yet I will expedite some lines to England for that purpose.

How industriously active in your lordship's service I desire to be, this poor paper cannot express; my heart, the centre of my body, never resting till it accomplish its desire to do you service; and I hope your honour will put a favourable construction upon every action. Had not the admiral's stay been so long near Bristol, your honour had heard of me before this time; the ardency of my duties admitting no

delays. But now your lordship shall expect, as what possibly could be gleaned up at present, 10,000 lbs. of bread, about 20 tuns of coals, 20 firkins of butter, 20 barrels of shot, with so much more of each sort for Youghall; and could I have procured a bark, your honour had ere this procured them, but they shall be sent away the very next conveyance. Major-General Laugharne hath provided as much bread of his own as the mentioned quantity, which will be suddenly ready for transport. If there be any thing wherein I may further manifest my service to your lordship, do me but the honour to command, and I shall find a cordial duty to obey. Thus committing your lordship, together with all your endeavours, to the tuition of Him who ever knoweth His, I humbly take leave to be,

My good Lord,

Your honour's most humble servant,

W. P."

" *To the Same.*

RIGHT HON. AND MY EVER-ENDEARED GOOD LORD,

All humble respects and thankful acknowledgements for your honour's gracious favours on my unworthy self so bountifully conferred.

Your lordship's two letters, bearing date the 5th and 15th of the last, I received at once, namely, the 6th inst.; in both which I cannot but take notice of your honour's overvaluing my poor endeavours; mean, I confess, in themselves, yet very real in their intention to do your lordship what service possibly I may; either here, or elsewhere, though I be personally absent from your honour. I grieve much to hear the emergent necessity of that province, and those parts so near related to your lordship, and much endeared to myself; for the relief of which, your honour may be confident my greatest

powers, prayers, and interest, shall no way be deficient. I have already consulted with my own breast, and some of the chief of this county in these parts, concerning the putting off such commodities in your honour's mentioned. I find it very feasible in judgement to make good market of them by way of sale and truck, that is, some money and some grain. If your lordship shall be pleased to like well of it, you may, with all convenient speed, expedite the transport of them. God be blessed! the condition of this country is very much altered, and that in a short time; yet are not likely to come to their pristine prosperity for some years.

I desire my most humble service may be presented to my very much honoured lord, the Lord of Broghill, together with the good ladies there. God, I hope, will prosper the endeavour of those that covet only the maintenance of his glory, his church's truth, the security of themselves and theirs from the devouring jaws of malicious and ravenous enemies.

I desire rather to be doing than saying; if, therefore, your lordship require speedy supply, I beseech you be as speedy in the conveyance of the goods, for the vending of which I shall double my pains and industry; to manifest my general devotion for the good of those parts; my particular respect and service to your lordship; and cannot be wanting in putting to a hand, when I have a heart so prompt and ready to execute the least command of your honour to him who is, &c.

W. P."

"*To Secretary Gethings.*

NOBLE SIR, AND MY APPROVED FRIEND,

All happiness attend you, &c. I have here, under the shelter of your name, made bold to convey the inclosed, which you may be pleased to present, with my most humble service, to his lordship. It shall be very much against my mind, and contrary to my endeavours, if I give you not a

Yet take comfort, noble sir: God is with us; and, *Si Deus nobiscum, quis contra nos?* Though I was very unfortunately taken off in the primordia of my undertakings for the benefit of that place, yet will I not be wanting, wheresoever I am employed, to double my endeavours for the relief of those parts.

I beseech you, hasten over the commodities. I am in a fair possibility to put them off at very good rates, if they shall come in time. Corn is plentiful, and at a very good price, and money may be gained: therefore, let no opportunity be let slip wherein advantage may be made. In this, in any thing, in all things within the verge and sphere of my power, I shall ever declare myself to be, what I have ever bowed to be,

Sir,

Your engaged friend to serve you,

W. P."

"*To the Same.*

EVER HONOURED SIR,

All due and true acknowledgments remembered, together with the like respects tendered. These are only for the present to salute you, with the rest of those noble spirits with you, having so inviting an opportunity. I am sorry I am at this distance with you; yet, neither distance of place, nor alteration of time, can or shall be able to alter my constant resolution of doing you service. I have procured the transport of what provisions these parts afford, for the better support of that province. One bark is now dispatched to my lord with 10000 lbs. of bread, twenty tun of coals, twenty firkins of butter, twenty barrels of shot: the like quantity of each lie ready for Youghall, as soon as possible a bark can be acquired. This is but the first and least service I could do, but I hope ere long (if my judgment mistake

me not) to add much more to the relief of those parts; in the mean time, I desire the constant continuance of your desired favours, protesting my earnest endeavours to be still accounted, &c.

W. P."

" *To Captain Richard Swanley, Admiral, &c.*

(Who, on some charges alleged against him, had been suspended from his command, and succeeded by Captain Moulton as Admiral of Ireland.)

HONOURED SIR,

The best of my respects, together with my prayers for the evident manifestation of your zeal and integrity, wait upon you. I am sorry that they that can do nothing else but talk, can talk so much to abuse the goodness of the state, to whose service you have ever been so willing to contribute your best endeavours. Witness the whole province of Munster, who can very well witness your forwardness for their advantage; and do generally lament your so sudden and cloudy remove. But both you, and I, and all the world, do know how clear-sighted that great council is, and how just their censures have ever been, condemning the nocent, but freeing the innocent from unjust imputations; and that which exalts our comfort is, the work alloted to your squadron (by God's goodness) is so near perfected by us, that they that come after may sit still or sleep.

I am very short of time, Captain Phillips being on the spur, myself here in Milford expecting my former charge. I shall therefore refer the rest to the relation of your kinsman, who is very well able to give you an account of what hath happened. But honesty is honesty still, and so will be in the eyes of God, and good men: to Him, for the present, I commit you, humbly craving leave to be,

Sir,

Your ever devoted servant,

W. P."

"*To the Major-General Laugharne.*

HONOURED SIR, Sept. 1645.

My most humble respects to yourself, &c. presented. My admiral, being gone for Bristol, hath substituted me in his room till he return, and hath limited me by instructions to act accordingly. I have on board the £1700, being ordered to pay it upon your demand; but to yourself and the committee jointly, agreed thus far, according to my instructions. I have likewise a tun of French wine here for you, but expect some direction from you for the landing thereof, which I would desire you to speed. The *May* frigate is fitting for her departure. If in any thing I may further satisfy you, or do you service, I am,

Sir,

Your very humble servant,

W. P.

A list of such prisoners as are of any quality, I have here inclosed."

"*To the Same.*

HONOURED SIR, AND MY TRULY NOBLE FRIEND,

All due respects tendered, with prayers for your prosperous success in these parts offered. I have both spoken and writ to Thomas Langhar about your bark, and had long since with commission dispatched her out; but the want of a cable, which I could wish I were able to supply, hath hitherto detained her. Considering money and a soldier are not always identical, especially at such a distance from their wonted and acquainted quarters, I know not to whom to make my request, otherwise I had not at present been so troublesome to you. If you shall meet with a good horse for my turn, be pleased to buy him for me; and look, what the price shall

be, I shall thankfully repay it to yourself, or by your order, and acknowledge it to be none of the meanest favours. Sir Arthur Loftus[1] and his lady are returned into these parts, and are at Pembroke, whom, for want of a horse, I have not yet seen; nor can I yet tell how to dispose of them for their transport to Munster: I could desire it were in my power to serve them. I have here no news that will be news to you; and I presume you are, and have been long since, confident that I am, &c.

W. P."

"*To the Same.*

HONOURED SIR,

Yours of this present day I received, and much congratulate your happy success in the county of Cardigan, together with your return so near. For the number of musquets mentioned in yours, be pleased to take notice, there are not any left, the admiral having had the remainder up to Penart; but, for pikes and pistols, you may have at your pleasure. I am sorry I cannot supply the defect in the other; counting it none of the smallest happiness, without doubt, to be,

Sir,

Your most humble servant,

W. P.

Sir, if my wits can procure me a horse, I shall not fail to wait upon you to-morrow, and give you a more ample account. In the mean time, I drink your health in good claret, and wish you were well stored with it; I should then be Turk at it, indeed."

[1] Sir Arthur Loftus, of Rathfarnham, Knight, (father of Adam, first Viscount Lisburne,) married, in 1624, the Lady Dorothy Boyle, sixth daughter of Richard, first Earl of Cork, and sister of the Lord Broghill, and of the Countess of Barrymore.—LODGE.

"*To the Same.*

MOST HONOURED SIR,

All real respects tendered. These lines are presented to kiss your hand, and to congratulate your happy success in those parts. I have here two guns, &c. for your service, and wait your order for their disposal. I should much, very much rejoice to see you, and should ere this have courst abroad, especially this gallant weather; but I must be forced to ride upon a wooden horse, or else be forced to carry my saddle. Sir Arthur Loftus and his lady are dispatched for Cork, but have left their very good respects to be to you commended. I have not else at present, but to take leave to be, &c.

W. P.

Sir, I have formerly writ to you concerning a horse: I am a petitioner in the same again. If, therefore, you shall meet with one of any worth, be pleased to buy him for me, and I shall very thankfully repay you. I would not have put you to this trouble, did I imagine money were so plentiful with your commanders at this distance."

"*To Captain Batten, &c. &c.*

MOST HONOURED SIR AND LOVING MASTER,

My respective[1] service to yourself and my good Mrs. presented. These are come only to kiss your hand, with an humble salute from him who, as ever engaged, so much desires to have the happiness once more to see you; but I perceive it very difficult to come about. Since Bristol is open,[2] I could have wished it had been my good fortune to have waited on

[1] Respectful (SHAKESP. respectively, for respectfully).—JOHNSON.

[2] Bristol was surrendered by Prince Rupert to Sir T. Fairfax on the 10th of September, 1645.

you, as one of your squadron; but they have taken a course to keep me here: and if ever I come about again, they shall whip me round before they get me on this side again. Yet I shall never take it amiss to do the state service in any place, though my content would have been much more, had it been with yourself. Your last (for which, as none of the least favours, I return humble thanks,) I answered by way of Bristol, as being the most apt and speediest passage.

Thus, with my prayers for your good health and happy success, I cease to write; but shall ever continue to be, &c.

W. P.

P.S.—Dear sir, 'tis now grown cold, and 'tis thought a cup of sack would be seasonable. Now the Malaga orange-men are coming home, any of your men, by your order, might easily give me a quarter-cask. I should be very thankful, and as thankfully repay."

"*To Captain Gethings.*

MY EVER HONOURED FRIEND,

Yours of the 10th present I received, and perusing, found in it such love from yourself, so much nobleness from my excellent lord (Inchiquin), that I shall never be able to gratify the one, nor satisfy the other. The *Custodium* which his lordship hath so nobly bestowed on me, unworthy of so great a favour, I thankfully accept, and presume to add one trouble more unto the rest; that yourself, or my cousin Cuffes (to whom I tender my respects), or both, would be pleased to dispose of it as in your judgments shall most conduce to the honour of the giver, by placing such a man therein as you shall suppose fittest for such an employment; and (God willing) ere long I hope to be so happy as to wait upon, and *vivâ voce* pay a tribute of thanks (a small requital)

to the best of lords, for his especial benignity; to yourself, for this more than common courtesy. In the mean time, I shall study to act, to the utmost of my poor power, to do honour to his lordship, service to your kind self, who have so infinitely engaged me, what I shall for ever engage myself, and be proud therein,

Sir,

Your very thankful servant to command,

W. P."

" *To the Lord of Inchiquin, &c. &c.*

RIGHT HON. AND MY SINGULAR GOOD LORD,

My most humble respects to your good lordship, with inexpressible thankfulness for your honour's never-to-be-merited favours, presented; in especial for this last, I am sure none of the least honours cast upon me: for which, as all others, I shall duplicate, yea, centuplicate, all my powers, all my prayers, all my interests, for and in your lordship's service. I suppose I have already quitted my northern expedition; and if my fate prove so successful as to guide me over to Munster, I shall leave no design unattempted wherein I may manifest the realty of my grateful heart to such a deserving lord, to whom I count it happiness enough to subscribe myself,

My dearest Lord,

Your honour's most devoted servant,

W. P."

At length, on the return of his admiral from Bristol to Milford, they both sailed for Ireland on the 24th of January.

1646.

Continuation of the JOURNAL.

"*January 24th.*—Between seven and eight in the morning, my admiral (Moulton), myself, the *Peter*, *Roebuck*, &c., weighed from Angle, bound for Cork.

25th.—At two in the afternoon we arrived in Cork bay.

27th.—The admiral and myself went in our pinnace up to Cork, to take advice of my Lord of Broghill, vice-president of the province of Munster, about the affairs of these parts; how and where we might do service to the state, in helping or encouraging our friends, or in weakening or disheartening our enemies, the merciless rebels in this kingdom. We tarried here this night.

29th.—The admiral and myself, having for the present finished our business with my Lord of Broghill, came down from Cork on board our own ships.

30th.—About twelve this day, my lord vice-president, with many other commanders, as also ladies and gentlewomen, came down from Cork on board my admiral, and there dined. From thence they came on board our ship; for whom I made what provision I could for a banquet. At their coming on board I caused eight guns to be fired, giving them seven at their departure. I received a command from my admiral to weigh, and set sail for Kinsale, there to fit my ship, and complete my victualling to the last of April, 1646.

February 17th.—I received an order from my admiral to go on shore to Kinsale, there taking horse with a guard, to ride to Cork in his behalf, to a consultation with my Lord of Broghill about some business concerning the state, which accordingly I did.

19th.—I returned from Cork, having dispatched the business I had with my lord vice-president. I went on board my admiral, giving him an account of my proceedings there.

26*th.*—I received instructions from my admiral for the commanding in chief such vessels, who were nominally thereunto annexed, and appointed for our intended expedition; our own ship being ordered by my admiral to remain in this harbour (Cork), for the guard thereof, till my return from Youghall; I being to go in one of the frigates. The regiment which were to be transported by us for Youghall, came down from Bandon-bridge to Kinsale.

March 1*st.*—Early this morning, the wind shrinking up us, our former design of Youghall was given over. About noon, my admiral, Capt. Smith, our ship, &c., in all twelve sail, weighed and stood out of the harbour to the westward.

3*rd.*—I went on board the *Lyon* to a council of war. About eight, we, with the rest of the fleet, bore in for Dingle Couch, and about ten anchored in the bay; myself, by my admiral's order, going with the Lieut.-Colonel M^c^Adam on shore to command the seamen, rowed up and down the river, to spy out the most convenient place to land our men in, which immediately we did; and so marched up to the town. About three in the afternoon they yielded up both town and castle to us.

4*th.*—We weighed with our fleet from Dingle, and so came to the Vintry; and that night, with the help of our seamen, were burned all the villages and houses about that bay. I was ordered by my admiral to stay on shore at Dingle, for the bringing off the guns which were in the castle, and to deface it what I could; which being accordingly performed, with the rest of the seamen to come to the Vintry in one of the frigates after.

5*th.*—The soldiers continued on shore, doing what spoil they could to the merciless rebels.

8*th*, *Monday.*—About eight in the morning, my admiral, with the rest of the fleet, weighed and stood out of the Vintry for the river of Limerick.

10*th.*—About three, afternoon, we and the rest of the

fleet came to an anchor before Glen Castle, in the river of Shannon, *alias* Limerick; where we had not long rid, but we spied one ashore with a flag of truce. To know whose business, my admiral willed me to take our pinnace and go to him; which I accordingly did, and brought him on board, who was there examined; who said he was one of the knight of the Glen's servants, whose master being well affected to the English, desired he might have liberty to plough his ground, &c.; and who doubted not but his master would be very much assistant to the English in any design they had in hand. But what my admiral did in it I know not.

11*th*.—I received order from my admiral to take charge and command of all the frigates in the fleet, and to dispose of all the soldiers and seamen; as in a schedule, to the same order, bearing the date present annexed, is mentioned.[1] About three afternoon, I, being on board the *Peter* frigate, caused her to weigh, as also Captain Browne, Captain Swymmer, Captain Liston, Captain Farmer, Captain Hall, and the hoy, to go up with me to Bonratty,[2] having all the soldiers on board of us, with our own boats manned as per order. Between six and seven we anchored near Bonratty, and sent a trumpeter to my Lord of Thomond,[3] with a letter from my admiral and Lieut.-Colonel M'Adam; who received it kindly, embracing our motion, and promising to join with us; but not being well himself, would send a gentleman of his to

[1] In a letter to the committee of the navy, he states these at seven frigates and a hoy, and between 600 and 700 soldiers.

[2] A castle belonging to the Earl of Thomond, in the county of Clare.

[3] Sir Barnabas O'Brien, sixth earl of Thomond. He married Mary, youngest daughter of Sir George Fermor, knt. (lineal ancestor of the Barons Lempster, earls of Pomfret). On his arrival in England he repaired to the king at Oxford, where his majesty, under the privy seal, dated 3d May, 1645, created him Marquess of Billing, in the county of Northampton; but, the troubles which at the time overspread the kingdom preventing the passage of the patent under the great seal, the title was never enjoyed by his posterity.—LODGE.

treat in his behalf with the lieutenant-colonel and myself, the next day.

12*th.*—I received certain particulars, inclosed in a letter directed to the lieutenant-colonel and myself, from my admiral; comprehending a discourse with, or a relation of, Sir Teague M'Mahon, as per that letter doth appear; but principally tending to the observation of the whole country in these parts of my Lord of Thomond, as to which side he would incline; being a man most potent and popular here, and so, able to draw in, or keep back others, and they no mean ones, according to his own dispose and temper. We landed our forces, being about 700, upon an island close to Bonratty, where the gentleman of my lord's, Captain Huntley by name, came unto us, inviting us to my lord to confer with his honour, which we did. Having dined with his lordship, we held consultation about the end of our coming hither, to see how his lordship stood affected to the parliament of England; whether or no he would join with us in the assaulting or surprising of the rebels in these parts, or at least the weakening and disabling them in their intentions upon the Lord of Inchiquin's quarters; or to obstruct the transportation of such forces, as we heard the Lord Herbert[1] was raising here, for the assistance of his majesty, in this unnatural war against his subjects. We found his lordship willing (as he said) in what he could to comply with us, only he feared we were not a party considerable (enough) to undergo so great a work. We promised to do our best; and, God blessing our endeavours, we doubted not of success in so good and honest a design. The soldiers marched over, and quartered in Bonratty this night.

[1] Son of the Earl of Worcester.

'*To Captain Batten, Vice-Admiral of England, &c.*

Bonratty, March, 1646.

HONOURED SIR, AND MY EVER TO BE ACKNOWLEDGED MASTER,

I could not but interrupt your more serious and weighty affairs with these few rude and incult lines, much bewailing my disastrous condition, as, being confined to these parts, I cannot be so happy as to enjoy a sight of you. But things must be as they may be. I am glad I can do any the least service for the state, in any place, if it prove acceptable; but should be glad to do it in those parts, or places, where yourself have some influence. Be pleased, in the meantime, to take these as a small account of our proceedings: [*here follows an abstract of the preceding journal to this date.*] The admiral is departed, and hath assigned me to command in chief. If any thing fall out worth your notice, I shall, by the next conveyance, be so bold as to impart it to you, to whom, as one, I shall stand devoted.

Sir, I formerly wrote to you concerning some nimble frigate, and yet of good force, which I hear are now a-building; if you shall be pleased, further my earnest desire herein, and, by any friends or means, procure me one, or such ship wherein I may be agile and active. I doubt not I shall prove as advantageous as some others, and so may gain as favourable a countenance, and as much credit, as they have done. I only make bold to put you in mind, not in the least manner doubtful of your experienced goodness to me; I were an infidel if I should distrust it. In confidence, then, of this your merited love and favour, I commit yourself and your affairs to Him that ever protecteth His; providing myself in the stile and title of your ever obedient servant at all commands,

W. P.'

13*th.*—I sent down my admiral's barge from Bonratty, with a request from my Lord of Thomond, in regard of his desire to speak with him, that he would be pleased to come up to him, which my admiral accordingly performed; and having spent some time in conference with his lordship, found him very reasonable, only cautious upon the first grounds.[1]

14*th.*—About eleven at night my admiral went down from Bonratty in his barge, after all discourse ended with the Earl of Thomond.

15*th.*—We drew out our forces, marching to a place adjoining, called Smith's-Town, where we faced a part of the enemy, being gathered together into a body; but night coming on we were not able to do any good upon them, and so made our retreat.

17*th.*—My minister, according to my directions, came up to Bonratty to instruct the soldiers, in regard they had none of their own. Captain Liston went away hence, according to a letter from my admiral, bearing yesterday's date, in which was intimated (upon some information of transporting rebels at Wexford for king's assistance in England) his present departure out of this river.

19*th.*—I received a letter from my admiral, containing some cautionary instructions and directions, by which I was to act after his departure hence; which, with God's blessing, I shall endeavour to put in execution. My pilot being on board, and intending to carry our ship up to Bonratty, I

[1] In Penn's letter to the committee of the navy, he says: "We treated with "the earl concerning the cause of our coming, and desired his best assistance. "We found him willing to further us in any thing, but fearful to hasard his "person, and therefore was earnest for conveyance for England, to acquaint "the parliament with some matters of concernment; and to acquit himself of "such accusations as had been laid against him, as manifesting his unwillingness "to come in and adhere to them; which we have not at present considered "upon, but shall do all things, as near as human frailty will admit, for the "honour of the state, (and) the good of the common cause in which we are "embarked."

asked him what water we should have up? He told me, not less than three fathom and one-half above at low water; Captain Dacre and others being by when he affirmed this. In prosecution of my admiral's directions and commands, I went again up to Bonratty to order all things for the advantage of this present design; which God of his mercy prosper in our hands! for his glory, and the good of his poor afflicted and distressed people in these parts, of which there is no small number.

20th.—Our pilot, having informed my admiral that we might go up with our ship as high as Bonratty, within two or three cables' length, at five fathom at low water (as per one of the foresaid letters from my admiral, bearing date of 18th present, will appear), I being gone up before to put in practice some commands laid upon me, caused our men to weigh, about five in the morning, out of Barwell-road (it being then high water and very little wind, that which was, at S.W.), to go up to Bonratty. He, being as ignorant of the channel as impudent not to confess so much, knowing the great charge he was to undergo, laid our ship upon the top of a ledge of rocks on the north-side the river, where she lay with her bildge upon rocks six foot high. The tide being gone, we went round about her, with which lying she beat in a piece of her plank in the bildge above two inches. At her fleeting she so strained herself (the wind coming to the W.S.W., gusty, stormy weather,) that we verily expected her to have shattered all in pieces. With this straining she broke and split two planks on her weather-side, and started some trunnels. About two of the clock, Captain Liston coming up with his ship again to Bonratty (being otherwise ordered than before by my admiral), seeing us in this miserable condition, having removed above 60 tun of great rocks, the better to make her fleet, anchored by us, we having shot a gun for some help, and so came in his boat, giving us the best assistance that he could. About six, by God's mercy, we

got off again. Our pilot having thus unhappily betrayed his ignorance, we durst not further confide in him; but Captain Liston undertook to pilot us up the rest of the way, which he performed; and so we came to an anchor near Bonratty about eight.

I paid to the lieutenant-colonel £10, which I received of my admiral for him (as per his receipt may appear), and after received a note from him, to send what boats with guns I possibly could, on shore, as I tendered the weal of the service: which I shall (God guiding me) be ever very tender of. I received also another letter from my admiral, bearing the date *stantis*, by Captain Liston, wherein were some brief instructions, concerning him and others which were here appointed to remain; which I shall (as I see occasion) put in practice.

22*d*, *Sunday*.—In the morning I received a note from Lieutenant-Colonel M'Adam, requesting me to let pass, and be assistant for that purpose to, all aged men, women, and children, to go down to my admiral, and be transported hence; least, by their means, he should be scanted of provisions. He desired me also to send what carpenters I could, for the making of a platform, &c. on shore.

23*d*.—I dispatched away our carpenters on shore to Bonratty, for the service of the lieutenant-colonel. We put our men to half allowance,[1] by reason of the scarcity of our provisions, together with the necessity of our continuance here; and agreed to give, one half provision, the other half money. My men desiring fresh meat for their money, I promised to make what provision I could for them. I sent a letter to entreat the admiral to take what speedy and convenient course he possibly could for a supply, in regard of our want

[1] It is to be observed here, that whenever the allowance to the seamen was abridged (as was often then the practice), the remainder was always credited to them, and afterwards paid in cash.

of provisions of all sorts; which we should very suddenly be sensible of, unless by his care and providence it was timely prevented.

25th.—I hung out a flag of council, and shot off a gun, to call all the rest of the captains on board our ship; where being come, we held a consultation upon the incapability of a great ship riding here aloft, there being not above twelve foot at low water. We agreed that Captain Hall should ride about a mile above us, to make a timely discovery of shipping or fire-boats, if they of Limerick (as we are informed) should attempt any such design.

27th.—According to a letter from the lieutenant-colonel, of this day's date, I went on shore to consult with him for the prosecution of a business in hand, carrying the two gunners which he desired with me.

31st.—I went on shore, to see what forwardness our works were in; and to take order with the lieutenant-colonel for the raising and flooring the mount in the garden, that it might thereby be the more serviceable, if occasion were to use it.

April 1st.—The lieutenant-colonel intended to beat up the enemy's quarters, and to see what strength their main body did consist of, but they saved us that labour;[1] for, about five this morning, they having drawn up a party from Six-mile-bridge, to the number of 120 horse and 300 foot, came to fire Bonratty, with commission to kill man, woman, and child; and accordingly began at the end of the town, fired seven houses, killed some English, &c. The alarum being given, 25 of our horse issued out under the command of Captain Vauclier, charged the enemy, and by a fortunate shot wounding Captain M'Gragh, commander-in-chief of the

[1] "Lord Inchiquin having seized Bonratty, a castle belonging to Lord "Thomond in the county of Clare, the supreme council (of Roman Catholics) "sent some of the forces intended for England, to recover that place by a "siege."—WARNER, vol. ii. p. 370.

horse, they were totally routed, and both horse and foot took flight. We followed the pursuit, slew 80 upon the place, took Captain M'Gragh alive, with his brother who came to his rescue; a lieutenant of foot, and another of horse; with about an 100 arms; not one man of ours being hurt. In the afternoon, our horse and foot being refreshed, we marched with two drakes,[1] 600 foot, and 50 horse, to the rebels' camp at Six-mile-bridge, consisting of 1400 horse and foot; having fortified themselves with scarffes and counterscarffes, &c. We set upon them, beat them out of their works, and, being hotly charged, they betook them to their heels. Our horse and foot pursued them two miles; yet little execution was done, by reason of the woods, and a river near hand. Having killed about 30, and taken five prisoners, we retreated to the town, possessed their strong works, lay therein that night, fired the town, excepting those houses wherein the provision was; and brought away 250 barrels of oatmeal, which served the soldiers six weeks for bread, our stores being much exhausted.

2*d*.—In the morning we marched from thence with 350 musqueteers to Bally-maguing, *alias* Smith's-Town, the place of their first incamping. Our horse marched some six miles into the country, burned one of their grand store-houses of corn, with many other houses, did much spoil unto the rebels, and so marched, with what lumber we had gotten, to our garrison of Bonratty. Captain M'Gragh, with the lieutenant of foot, died, being desperately shot.

3*d*.—Upon the request of Lieut.-Colonel M'Adam, I went up to him to Bonratty, to consult of the affairs that most concerned the benefit of the service. My minister gave a sermon to the soldiers, being suddenly to march abroad.

Captain M'Gragh and the lieutenant were honourably buried, with three vollies of small shot.

[1] See Sea-Grammar, Appendix A. c. 14.

8th, Sunday.—No business but the duties of the day performed, and from the garrison no news. A trumpet came from Lieut.-General Pursell, with linen and money for the relief of such prisoners as we had taken.

9th.—I went on shore to M'Adam, about raising of works for the strengthening the garrison; so that having considered how and where to raise the works, the rest of the day was spent in pulling down walls, removing thatched houses out of the town, into a field near adjoining to the castle. I gave order for the making of a platform for a great gun in the pigeon-house.

10th.—I sent some men on shore to help to raise a breast-work, as was agreed upon between the lieutenant-colonel and myself, thwart the causeway at the corner of the garden wall; which was this day put in very good forwardness.

13th.—I went from Finnis' Island to and again, about and upon several islands thereabouts, to see what cattle we could make purchase[1] of. Upon one I found nothing but conies; another some deer, which if they had been killed had not been man's meat; only five horses of my Lord of Thomond, and a hay-rick; which the very first opportunity shall be fetched off, and carried to Enislow, which island I intend (God willing) to make the common receptacle for such cattle as can be possibly gleaned up for the relief of our shipping and garrison.

14th.—I sent my pinnace up to Bonratty, requesting my Lord of Thomond, that one of his grooms might be sent down to assist our men in taking the five horses on the deer-island, and bringing them to Enislow, where they might be secured from the rebels; as also, for a servant of his lordship's, who (as I was informed) is well acquainted in and about the islands, upon which I have a design.

15th.—In the morning our pinnace returned from Bon-

[1] "Any thing of which possession is taken (SHAKESPEARE)."—JOHNSON.

ratty, and brought me a letter from my lord, another from the lieutenant-colonel, and a third from Capt. Brown, of the *Trial* pink; the guide I sent for, likewise came down; but the wind blowing so hard, there was no adventuring to take the cattle into the boats, or transporting them from the place wherein they were.

16*th.*—This morning I went, with our own and the *Ann Percy's* boats, unto the deer-island, where (after much time spent and labour had) we caught the five horses, none of them being, as was supposed, my lord's; three of which we transported to Enislow: the other two, not being worth the labour, we let alone. It being near the evening, I returned on board. Those which landed the horses brought me word, that the rebels had killed and carried away all the sheep, save half-a-score or thereabouts, on Enislow; which much grieved me to hear, having taken such care, and used such diligence, for the preservation thereof, night and day. But the extremity of the weather, together with the rebels' familiar acquaintance with these islands (being dry in some places at low water), did so disenable us, that all the art we had, or industry we could use, it seems could not possibly prevent them, they being both cunning and close in their roguery.

17*th.*—Having consulted over-night with my guide, and finding it feasible, with his approbation, to gain some sheep and other cattle from off the island called Croneraughan, in the possession of the rebels, half-musquet-shot from the main, where the rebels have a strong ward in a very good castle; I sent our own and Captain Smith's boats on shore, the tide falling very opportunely, to get what cattle they could, for the subsistence not only of the garrison but ourselves; with special order, in regard of the enemy's strength, to be more than ordinarily wary, not to engage themselves in boats too far, and look, what cattle they could conveniently bring off, they were to put upon Enislow: I being resolved, for their better security, as also the intercepting or destroying of the

rebels' boats, to send the hoy to ride between that island and the main, and with her a nimble pinnace, for the better completing the design. About eight, a party issued out of the garrison to look for prey; took 200 cows, 250 sheep, 80 garrans[1]; killed six rogues, summoned Ballinclay Castle, commanded by John M'Namara; who, professing friendship to the Earl of Thomond, and we not possessing engines to annoy the same, being (contrary to report) very strong, drew off and returned home. I sent an order to Captain Brown, that he should be observant of M'Adam in all his requests wherein the benefit of the present design consisted; but, above all, to have a care of his charge, and that the ships might not by any means be disabled.

18*th.*—About two, afternoon, I went from on board the ships to Bonratty, where meeting the lieutenant-colonel, we consulted together about the business now in hand; and concluding, agreed that, he sending me down to-morrow night in the barge three files of musqueteers, on Monday morning, at an hour appointed, they should, with what men in their assistance could possibly be spared, be landed at Ronanon (the place where we formerly burned the houses); it being a point of land lying a mile out in the river, the tide at high water coming round about it within less than a quarter of a mile; to which passage M'Adam was to come at the hour prefixed; where we, landing before and drawing them down, were to hold them play till the signal given of M'Adam's approach with horse and foot; and then seeming to retreat, they pursuing, M'Adam and his forces to fall upon them in the rear, we in the front, that so (God blessing our design) the rebels thus engaged could not possibly escape either us or them, but must needs perish between us. About six I took leave of the lieutenant-colonel.

19*th*, *Sunday.*—I sent our pinnace with a note to Captain

[1] "A small horse; a hobby." (TEMPLE.)—JOHNSON.

Smith, to request the assistance of both his boats, well manned and armed, to be ready, about three of the clock next morning, for the prosecution of our late intended design, who willingly accorded to it. But, between ten and eleven this night, I received a letter from Captain Brown, and another from Lieut.-Colonel M'Adam, by which I was given to understand that the business was put off till a day or two longer.

20*th*.—At ten this morning, I went up to Bonratty to know the reason why the former design was protracted; where meeting with the lieutenant-colonel, and conferring with him, he told me, the uncertainty of the weather was the only hindrance; but concluded, that to-morrow morning, at six, should be the time that we should meet at the forementioned place; that I, with three files of musqueteers, and what men out of our ships could possibly be spared, being on shore two hours before his approach, and giving an alarum to the country, might draw them down upon us; and so he coming upon the rear, as aforesaid, they might be cut off between us. For the better understanding one of another, and the more clear prosecution of our intention, I desired the lieutenant-colonel to set down in writing how and in what manner he would have me act, that there might be no mistakes; which he accordingly did, and sent me down directions, with four files of musqueteers, a lieutenant, and a serjeant. I ordered Captain Hall to run down with his ship, and come to an anchor by us, as near as conveniently might be, that the battering-piece might be taken out, with all things thereunto pertaining; M'Adam intending to plant the piece against the castle.

21*st*.—Early this morning, having all things in a convenient readiness, Captain Smith's two boats, and our own, well manned and armed with our seamen, four files of musqueteers, a lieutenant, and serjeant to whom the country was well known, being in the barge, we went on shore about four in the morning, landed our men, sent out a party to discover

the enemy; ordered another party to make good some particular places that were most likely for the advantage of the rebels; and there abiding in a posture of defence, expecting the issue, by drawing the enemy down to us, and the falling in of our forces upon the rear of the rogues, we were disappointed only by the foulness of the weather. For it pleased God (the disposer of all things according to his good will and pleasure) to send such a storm of wind and such abundance of rain, that neither the one nor the other answered our expectation; the enemy keeping close in their quarters, and ours in our own. So having staid almost three hours longer than the time appointed by the lieutenant-colonel for his approach, and judging the weather to be the only obstacle, burned some houses, did what spoil we could, took our boats, and being sufficiently drenched with the rain and seas, came on board again. I heard after, that a party of ours marched out, but could not come so far; killed 20 rogues, took a prey of 60 cows, 100 sheep and more, and so retreated. I sent up the barge with the soldiers.

23d.—A soldier of the colonel's company was killed in the night by a corporal of the lieutenant-colonel's company, this being the fifth thus killed by our own men since they came forth; not having one killed by the enemy.

25th.—Early this morning I went up in our pinnace to Bonratty to speak with the lieutenant-colonel, being also very desirous to hear what news was stirring; where being landed, after the dispatch of some other business, we argued the innecessity of the small ships riding there, seeing they had so well fortified the place; together with the service the frigates might do abroad in getting purchase, if any were to be had; concerning which at present we concluded nothing. My request was, that the lieutenant-colonel would furnish us with some oatmeal for the lengthening our provision, and enabling our further stay; according to the tenour of a letter to him sent the day before.

26th, Sunday.—After sermon, settled our affairs for the sending of Captain Liston to Cork, to inform my Lord of Broghill of our condition; as also, to seek out the admiral, and gain what supplies possibly could be for the maintenance of the garrison here. Now, the reason that moved me to send him rather than any other is, because he hath more bread than any other; and if I send him not, I must be constrained to part with two more serviceable ships, for want of bread; which he hath now in part supplied. We agreed also, that two of the frigates should, the next fair wind, be ordered forth to sea, that so gaining purchase (if by any means it can be had), we might be the better enabled to manage this design. A trumpet came from Lieut.-General Pursell, with letters, desiring that John M'Gragh, Captain M'Gragh's brother, with his trumpet, might go upon their parole till the 10th of May, which was granted.

28th.—We sent up a joint request to the lieutenant-colonel, desiring him to consider the shortness of our provisions, and think upon a timely course for our supply, or else a fair departure from hence after the expiration of three weeks more, if it should be the will of God to keep supplies from us out of other parts. Some of our men, contrary to the oaths formerly taken, ran away to the rogues: a very great hindrance to our designs.

30th.—About nine we weighed. We shot two guns at the rogues as we went down, being thick on the shore. About three we anchored at Eniscattery, where we had not been long, but we espied two sail coming up the river. We weighed again, and went under the land, in six fathom, that they might not discover us till they came upon us. We, perceiving they had Holland's colours, fitted our ship; but when they came up, one was Captain Grigge in Plunkett's ship, the other a frigate which he had taken. Both the commanders came on board, and delivered me letters from my admiral. Their ships anchored by us, under the island.

May 1*st*.—News came this day very hot, of their intentions at Limerick to fire our ships. I sent up word to Brown, &c. to be more than ordinarily careful to prevent the worst, if they should attempt any such thing; the wind easterly, and therefore the most likely now, if ever.

3*d*, *Sunday*.—About ten in the morning Captain Liston came down from Bonratty, with many passengers, both men, women, and children, to be transported to Kinsale or Cork, who came to anchor by us, as also the hoy; the master came on board of me while we were at sermon, who delivered me letters, one from Captain Brown, one from my Lord of Broghill, a third from the lieutenant-colonel, and a fourth from Captain Grigge. Sermon being ended, I perused these several letters; and considered, as the day would give me leave, for the benefit of this present design.

5*th*.—This morning, according to my request, Captain Smith came up to Bonratty; and about six met on board the *Peter* frigate, where we received intelligence of the rogues' attempt upon us the night before, with the narrow escape of one barge from being taken. We went on shore, consulted about Liston's departure, which I was not willing to consent unto; Hall being likewise, in my admiral's judgment, the most convenient, and in my Lord of Broghill's letter nominated, to carry the horses to Kinsale; and if both should go, there being but three small frigates left, not strength enough to oppose those of Limerick; the commanders of which frigates having lately wrote to me to let Captain Smith come up for their assistance during the absence of the other two, we ordered that Captain Poole, commanding Grigge's frigate, should take in the passengers on board of Liston, and convey them to Kinsale.

Now, in regard of some letters of importance from M'Adam to my Lord of Broghill, as also some of mine to his lordship and my admiral, we dispatched him away with all the speed that possibly could be. We also concluded divers other

things, as by a council of war held may appear; whereby we endeavoured to advance the design in hand. The report of the enemy's approach from Six-mile-bridge so near as Cappah Castle, caused the lieutenant-colonel to withdraw himself from us, not having fully concluded our determinations; and so, being forced to break off, I went on board the *Peter*, and lay there this night, that the commanders might not be discouraged. I gave order for the often passing and repassing of our boats, that the enemy might conceive we had much relief by these last ships.

6*th.*—This morning we got our guns on board again, filled water, weighed, and stood up to the place where we left Captain Smith, called Beth Castle. About eleven, at noon, I went on shore, where I heard the rebels had summoned Cappah Castle, but were slightly answered by the commander, whereupon they retreated to their quarters at the bridge again. In regard it was convenient, yea, necessary, to have a council of war called the next morning, and that Lieut.-Colonel M'Adam had promised to consult with us; I staid on board the *Peter* frigate all night, and sent down to Captain Smith, entreating his presence early.

7*th.*—About nine this morning, I called a council of war on board the *Discovery*. I sent a warrant directed to the commanders of the several frigates, to send half their men every day on shore, to work at the fort which we had concluded should be raised at the water-side for the security of our ships; provided always and by all means (no excuse to the contrary) they repaired on board every night; as also, at all times of the day they be ready to do the like, if necessity should require. We agreed upon a signal to each other of the enemy's assault: if the fleet were assailed in the day, the signal was a flag in the main-topmast shrouds on board of Brown; in the night, the shooting off a great gun: if the lieutenant-colonel's forces should be set upon, or be in any distress, the firing the great gun in the garden, night or

day, should be a warning sufficient to afford each other the best assistance we could. About nine I returned on board our ship.

8th.—About ten this morning, Capt. Grigge and the hoy came down from Bonratty to Beth-road. This tide, the Earl of Thomond's goods came down in boats on board of Grigge, who also took in the whole culverin Capt. Hall brought from Cork for the service here, to carry it back again. About five, afternoon, came in a small frigate, whereof Capt. Southwood was commander; but formerly commanded by Capt. Williams, who being in another frigate at the Blascoes, sent him in hither to enquire of the captains' and my welfare, and of the affairs here: bearing up under our stern, gave us three guns, to whom we returned one. The captain came on board, and delivered his message to me; he told us, that Exeter and Barnstable were taken, together with divers other places: for which good news God make us thankful!

9th.—Near upon eight in the morning, the Earl of Thomond came down from Bonratty, and went on board Captain Grigge to go for Cork: I went on board to wait upon his honour. About ten, Captain Southwood weighed for the Blascoes, by whom I dispatched letters to my admiral, giving him special notice of our present condition, and imploring his best assistance for our relief; as also a letter to Captain Ferriter, captain of an island there, requesting him to have in a readiness what cattle he could possibly spare, against the time that I should send for them, which should be (God willing) very shortly. About two, my Lord of Thomond came on board our ship to dinner; I gave his lordship five guns at his entering. Not long after came down the lieutenant-colonel, with some of his commanders, to demand certain men which had an escape with my lord, but could by no means be spared. At his request I sent for them, and returned them up immediately to Bonratty in a boat. Having dispatched the present affairs, and dined, the lieut.-colonel

and his company went up again; at whose departure I gave three guns. Not long after, my lord took leave, to whom I gave nine guns.

10*th*, *Sunday*.—At eight this morning came on board my lord's gentleman, and told me, 'twas his lordship's desire that my minister should preach before him; which I consented to, sent him on board, and after went myself; dined with his honour, and so came on board again. I received a letter from the lieutenant-colonel concerning guns, and requiring the assistance of our master-gunner; all which I ordered immediately.

11*th*.—Early this morning, about four of the clock, I sent up our gunner, and with him, in our long boat, one minion, with 20 round shot, carriage, ladle, &c.; in Captain Smith's boat, one minion, without a carriage, with 20 round shot, a faulcon with a carriage (which I had from Captain Grigge) with 10 round shot, being all I could get of him. About ten this morning Captain Grigge weighed for Cork, by whom I dispatched letters to my Lord of Broghill; as also some, express, to my admiral, to move the hastening of our supplies. I went down with my lord (Thomond) in Grigge's ship so far as the Glen, where I took leave of his honour. Grigge, at his departure, gave me five guns.

12*th*.—Captain Smith came on board our ship. We agreed to draw up a letter, to be subscribed jointly, and directed to the lieutenant-colonel, desiring him to consider our present condition, and to furnish us with what provisions he could spare; or to hasten our dispatch from hence, with what convenience he could; or, if none of these, at least to give under his hand the necessity of our continuance here so long as possibly might be; that so, our departure hence, if licensed, or continuance here, if required, might be the more warrantable or excusable.

13*th*.—I went up with the fore-mentioned letter, subscribed by Captain Smith and myself, where the rest of the

commanders subscribed also. I sent it on shore; but, in regard of business more pressing, then in hand, I received not an answer. I went to the fort, to view the works, and hasten them on, for the more security of the shipping. After, I betook myself to the lieutenant-colonel, with whom I consulted about the present affairs; and hearing some shot made not far from Bonratty, we conceived the rebels were then assaulting of Cappah Castle, about two miles from us, where was a ward of our's consisting of two files of musqueteers of the lieutenant-colonel's (of which one Serjeant Morgan had command), and some that formerly inhabited the castle or thereabouts. The rebels, having brought down their great guns, made 26 desperate shot, they within very gallantly maintaining it; but being much battered, with a breach made, and (as we heard after) being stormed by the rebels, our men, not able any longer to hold out, yielded upon quarter for their lives. Having entered the castle and taken our men prisoners, they marched from thence to a castle called Rossmonnahane, not a full mile from Bonratty, formerly commanded by one Hunt; which, but two days before, he quit, and was now with his wife and family in Bonratty Castle. This castle also they summoned, being kept by a file of our men; bringing Morgan with them, and using him as an instrument for the surrender. What he did, being compelled, or how the matter was ordered, is not yet known; but the castle was delivered up, without so much as a shot made: we believe the soldiers were hanged, as justly they deserve.

Seeing the general want of ammunition, and requested by the lieutenant-colonel to afford supply, I wrote down to our master to send up with all speed 18 barrels of powder, with such shot and match as could be spared, as also arms, &c. for our men in the fort. I disposed of the guns, with the lieutenant-colonel's advice, to the best advantage; appointing a gunner for each, and one in chief, to oversee, direct, and order the rest for the good of all. I put the powder which

I sent for on board the ships here, as most secure, yet ready at hand, as the lieutenant-colonel adjudged fit.

14*th.*—I spent the most part of the morning at the fort, encouraging those that were at work, and hastening the finishing thereof with all the speed that might be. The rebels having marched up, and fired divers of the inhabitants' houses upon the hill, some of our forces marched out also, and fired some of the Irish cabbins, and so returned. The lieut.-colonel promised to continue two files of musqueteers for the maintaining of the fort; I appointed one Browne, in the absence of Captain Dacre, to command in chief in the fort, and required the rest to be obedient to him, upon their peril. Having ordered all things (as I suppose) for the best, if God be pleased to give a blessing to my poor endeavours; and taken leave of the lieutenant-colonel; the tide also serving, I went into my pinnace, called on board of Captain Brown and Captain Dacre, requiring their best assistance in my absence for the finishing and securing of the fort; which would be no small advantage to them, and therefore exacted no small care from them. Praying God to bless them as myself, I took my leave of them, and came down to my ship.

16*th.*—Several things debated, at a parley between our men and the rogues, concerning the exchange of prisoners; a month's means, according to the quality and command, agreed upon: not any business, either above or below, worthy notice.

17*th*, *Sunday.*—I received two letters; one from Captain Dacre, desiring that some colours might be sent up for the fort, as also Captain Smith's drummer; the other letter came from Captain Brown, by which I understood, that the lieutenant-colonel's soldiers received the sacrament this day, and to-morrow resolved to fall upon the rebels: God give him good success! I was desired by the lieutenant-colonel to come up to Bonratty the next morning, to confer with him about some special occasions for the advance of the service.

18*th*.—Early this morning, about two of the clock, having taken in 200 lbs. weight of bread for Dacre and Farmer, the colours and drum, I went with our pinnace up to Bonratty, and delivered the bread on board each their ships, and dispatched some other business. Then I went to the fort, to view the progression of the work, and the line that I ordered should be drawn for the more security thereof. About seven of the clock I went to Bonratty: the lieutenant-colonel, having watched that night expecting an alarum, but receiving none, was gone to take a little rest. About eight, the rebels sent in a trumpet, by which they desired to treat in the afternoon, according to an agreement formerly made, for the exchange of prisoners on either side. About ten, there appeared some few of the rebels' horse upon a hill, in a bravado, on purpose to drill[1] out our men; having laid divers ambushes for them, and lined the hedges with musqueteers. The lieut.-colonel sent out four files of musqueteers under the command of Lieutenant Grimes, who were assaulted by the rogues in ambush; but he flanking them, beat them out of their hedges, made two several parties fly; whereupon, five or six companies of their foot coming down in several divisions, with two troops of horse (their whole army consisting then of about 6 or 7000, lying but on the other side of the hill,) caused our four files to retreat. For the encounter of these, most of our horse issued out, between whom there was some bickering. We lost a man; they about six or seven, as was confessed by a drum of theirs, who afterwards came in to demand the body of an officer of horse whom our men slew in the skirmish, and brought in one of their horses. While this skirmish lasted, the enemy brought down two guns (a faulcon and a demi-culverin), with which they made divers shot into our works, but did no hurt, God be praised! We answered them with our guns, whereby we dismounted one

[1] "To draw (THOMSON)."—JOHNSON.

of theirs, but could not gain it. This falling out at low water, I gave special charge that the fort should be well manned, lest they should attempt any thing (as was most likely at this time) against it.

The lieutenant-colonel made a proposition of sparing two of the small ships riding aloft, to go to sea, there to seek out for purchase for the relief of the garrison. I answered, I should be very willing to gain any thing for the advantage of us or them, and was once of this mind too; but in regard the rebels' only aim is at the island, they could not be possibly spared from thence, lest the want of so many men, by which the fort was continually manned, might encourage the enemy to fall upon it, and so, being weakened, give them a double advantage. Again, in regard of the shortness of provisions, should I trust any to go to sea, having already had their hands (if not their hearts) full of this business, I may justly fear they will hardly return, being glad of such an opportunity to escape: which considered, he, as myself, was unwilling that any should go.

18*th.*—The rebels being fallen down very near our works, and the lieutenant-colonel being full of business, he desired me to continue above this night; which I the rather did, to encourage those on the island, in the fort. About five this afternoon the hoy came in, having made a return from Ferriter's Island; brought me two oxen cut up and salted, cost me £7, being all they had there which was eatable.

19*th.*— In the morning I went on shore to the lieutenant-colonel, who adjudged it convenient that two of the smallest and less useful vessels, riding up above, should be dispatched from hence; one to Sligo, to hasten Sir Charles Coote's march towards this place; the other to Cork, to my Lord of Broghill, to give him intelligence of the condition of our forces here, and to crave his best assistance; which I consented to, provided it might be for the better. The rebels brought down some cannon-baskets the night before, but as yet made no use

of them. This day, before I left Bonratty, came in a drum from the rebels, demanding the castle, without any more ado, as if it were no more but, '*up and ride:*' I think their answer was as slight. Having advised with the lieutenant-colonel, and assisted him in what I could, the tide serving, I came down in our pinnace; leaving a special charge with the commanders above to look to the island, and not, upon any quarters whatsoever, resign it into the enemy's hands, if they should assault it.

21*st.*—The *Blessing of London* came in, Thomas Winnall commander, who was one of the summer-guard, and appointed for this place. The captain came on board our ship, brought me letters from my admiral, which perusing, I understood he brought provisions and ammunition for us; as also some letters from my Lord of Broghill, &c. to the lieutenant-colonel, which I immediately sent up to him. My admiral ordered me, by his letter now received, to clear off Captain Smith and Captain Liston. I sent to Captain Smith and Captain Winnall, desiring them to meet me to-morrow morning at a council of war up at Bonratty, which I held for the ordering our affairs, in regard of the departure of Smith and Liston.

22*d.*—Early this morning I went up, caused the captains to come on shore, that the lieutenant-colonel might be privy to our consult, in regard of his concernment therein. The first thing we treated of, was the departure of Smith and Liston, which was concluded upon. The next, was concerning a demi-culverin Capt. Smith had on shore, with the carriage, &c., which the lieutenant-colonel desired might be continued here, it being of much necessity, and not to be parted with, without apparent danger: which Capt. Smith consented to, being willing to leave it for the benefit of the garrison, conditionally, that the lieutenant-colonel and we would certify under our hands, to the Right Honourable the Committee for the Admiralty, that it was upon so serviceable an occasion

left here by him; that so restitution might be made: to which also we agreed. The third, was concerning the leaving of some men out of each ship, for the advance of the service. Answer was made to this, that they knew not what men could be spared, till they had spoken with their companies. The last thing proposed, was concerning some fire-works and case-shot, which the lieutenant-colonel desired he might be supplied with, and that they now, being bound home, might very well spare: to which they answered, they had none, neither did they ever make use of any. After some other debatements between us, we broke up, and took solemn leave of Captain Smith.

The enemy this day very busy about filling their baskets, which they had placed within carbine-shot of our works; but not a great gun since Monday, from their side. They made two shot at me, as I was with my boy in the outward works, but did no harm. The lieutenant-colonel rode out to see if he could gain a view of the enemy and their strength, having lain so still as they have done since Monday. Upon this we gave them an alarum; a hot skirmish for two hours between the rebels and us; they did us some mischief with their cannon, which they drew down, and with which they played hard upon us. After all was done, the lieutenant-colonel resolved shortly upon a design to fall upon them, and, if possible, beat them from their works, and so gain their guns from them; and, for that purpose, desired to have some of our seamen, being more skilful in drawing them away, or to unspike and break them, if not possible to draw them off. I wrote to Captain Brown to spare some of his men; and coming down on board our ship, I sent up some of our's for that purpose.

23*d.*—I wrote to Captain Smith, to fit himself and ship to quit this river, and therefore to call down his men from the hoy and fort; and ordered Captain Winnall to send some in their room, which was accordingly done; only by the

entreaty of the lieutenant-colonel, in a letter to me, Captain Smith's ten men that were in the fort were stayed for the execution of the design in hand till the next day, and then he would return them; which I desired, in regard of his departure, they not willing to stay on shore, or he to go without them. We being much put to it for want of provisions of flesh, and fearing more, by reason of the impossibility of gaining any convenient supply for the enabling of our further stay here; the commanders of the frigates above at Bonratty sent me a request, jointly subscribed, to furnish them out of some store which they heard Captain Smith had on board. The news was very welcome to me: I resolved to request Captain Smith's compliance herein; but being late this night ere the letter came to my hand, I could not do it forthwith. A party came down to a house gallantly maintained by Captain Jefford: many great shot made at it and our men, but no hurt done.

24*th*, *Sunday*.—I received a letter from the lieut.-colonel, requesting some minion shot, having spent what they had in this day's service. I sent up to Captain Brown, by his pinnace, a 100 shot, to be disposed of as the lieutenant-colonel adjudged fit. Many shot were made this day by our men against the rebels: our men sallied out, upon the intended design of surprising the enemy's guns, but were prevented, for they had drawn their artillery up the hill. However, our men set upon them, and, with the help of our seamen, beat them out of their works, killed divers of them, among the rest one principal commander; but their horse coming down, our men retreated. In this sally I had a man shot through the body, but not past hope. About twelve at night, Captain Smith's ten men came down, and eight of ours; one being hurt, the other staid to look to him.

25*th*.—I went on board Captain Smith, shewed the commanders' letter, jointly subscribed for a supply of flesh, and moved him therein, who promised to spare me what he could,

provided I would certify so much to the Commissioners of the Navy, and request them to see him satisfied, either by so much meat returned, or money for the same; which I accordingly did, and received of him 10 hogsheads beef, containing 1511 4lb. pieces, and 3 hogsheads pork, containing 568 2lb. pieces, for which I shall be accountable. I wrote a letter, jointly subscribed, for a gun, &c. Captain Smith left on shore at Bonratty for the service of the state, at the request of the lieutenant-colonel; that return or satisfaction might be made.

About three, afternoon, the *Peter* of Weymouth, a private man-of-war, Peter Cornellis commander, came up to us, and anchored by us. This evening, Captain Smith had wooded and watered his ship, which could not be speedier done, lying so far distant from the shore; and so, having all his men on board, was fitted to set sail: I giving him warrant for that purpose to go directly for London, with what expedition he could.

26*th.*—I sent up our pinnace to Bonratty, to see how our man that was hurt did, having yesterday morning early sent our surgeon to dress him. I sent up a letter to the lieutenant-colonel, informing him of the two ships going directly for London, according to my admiral's orders; and if he had any weighty business (as he pretended), concerning the state of his affairs, to certify my Lord of Broghill of, he should make the necessity thereof known; that therefore, ordering Liston to call in at Cork or Kinsale by the way, I might be excusable, if question should be made thereof. I received answer of this letter, but not to the purpose. I dispatched divers letters, to Captain Batten, the Committee of the Admiralty, the Commissioners of the Navy, &c., and sent them on board Captain Smith, entreating his care in the delivery.

27*th.*—I sent up another letter to M'Adam, desiring a more satisfactory answer, or hold me excused if I dispatched

away Liston directly for London, as is my order; but it was such a storm of wind at W. and such extreme foul weather, that neither my boat returned, nor Captain Smith weighed, as he desired.

29*th*.—Very early this morning our boat returned, and brought me two letters from M'Adam; which having perused, I sent on board Captain Smith, requesting also his perusal of the same. Which having read, he came on board, and concluded, as necessary for further satisfaction, to go up to Bonratty; which we immediately did. We first landed at the fort, to see what was yet wanting for their better subsistence; and having spent some time there in ordering their affairs, upon the request of the lieutenant-colonel we went on shore on that side, to him. With whom, after much debatement, we concluded of the necessity of transporting many women and children (burthensome to the garrison, in regard of the scarcity of provisions; a thing which I desired, and might with more ease, and greater advantage, have been done long since,) to Cork or Kinsale. Now, necessity forcing their departure, and in a greater number than could be imagined, the lieutenant-colonel supposing Liston's ship not capable of containing so many, desired Captain Smith might be ordered to transport one-half of them. But having no provisions to afford them out of the garrison, and Captain Smith very much straitened, he was not willing to take any of them on board; nor could I in reason persuade him to it. At the request of the lieutenant-colonel I staid, but chiefly to hasten the shipping of the people, that the ships might not any longer be hindered from their dispatch. This afternoon our men sallied out in divers parties of foot and horse, and skirmished with the rebels, being very strong. The skirmish lasted about two hours, the great guns playing hard on both sides; theirs from their cannon-baskets, ours from our works. We lost three men, had three or four horses hurt; not without the loss of some of the rebels, divers being killed, and

divers taken prisoners. The rogues had one demi-culverin, which till now we knew not of.

30*th.*—The rebels plied our forces so hard all the last night, giving us continual alarums, that all we could do was but sufficient (with God's blessing) to perform duty. So that this tide was lost, not being able to ship the poor people which were ordered to quit the garrison. This afternoon tide I dispatched away most of them. M'Adam receiving some letters from Muskerry,[1] general of the rebels' forces, and now in their quarters before Bonratty, which he said administered new advertisement to my Lord of Broghill, and therefore could not acquit Liston, notwithstanding my importunity thereunto, till he had dispatched his other letters, which would take up this night also; I was therefore forced to comply with him in Liston's stay this night.

31*st.*—This morning early, having seen the rest of the women and children sent down to go on board of Liston; as was formerly agreed upon that he should carry all the passengers, though many (being near upon an 100), rather than to stay, or administer any cause of stay to Captain Smith upon the coast; I came down in our pinnace; as also Captain Hunt, who was to carry M'Adam's letters, being come away about two of the clock. I gave Captain Liston his warrant, the first opportunity of wind to quit this river; and being sensible of the miserable want of flesh which will, shortly, inevitably fall upon the garrison, without most speedy supply, I advised the lieutenant-colonel to address himself by letter to Captain Ferriter for his assistance, having formerly promised me to that purpose; and so ordered Liston to call in there, at his island, by the way, deliver his letters and mine to him, and from thence to Kinsale or Cork, where having landed his passengers, to ply away with all speed for London.

[1] Charles Maccarthy, created Viscount Muskerry 1628, married the sister of the Marquess of Ormonde: he was created Earl of Clancarty in 1658.

June 4th.—The lieutenant-colonel desired my presence above, about special service for the good of the design here, according to whose request I went up; who manifested his desire for the securing of the cows in the garrison, to which I willingly accorded (the rebels having gotten some from us the night before), but could not agree where, or how, to dispose of them, to warrant sufficiently their security; sometime being of the mind to keep them above, sometime to put them upon some island below, but could not yet determine which of the two afforded most safety. The next thing in dispute was, how a prey might be gotten from the rebels for the relief of the soldier, and requesting my advice. I concluded no better way for the present, than to send the hoy down the river, to take notice of such places as might be most likely for that purpose, and so ordered her to come down, coast along, and take special view where (by the number of the cattle) we might best work our end; which having attained, they were conceived with most security to be kept upon Finnis's Island. This being done, the hoy was dispatched to Ferriter's Island, to get what provisions could be had: having sent to him before by Captain Liston to that effect. The lieutenant-colonel also desired, that I would take down a 1000 lb. weight of lead, to cast into bullets for the use of our men; one quarter whereof was to be cast into pistol and carbine, which I took order with Captain Brown for. This day many shot were made between us and the rebels, some of which came into the castle, but did no harm. They have brought down two guns, which shoot directly down the river, and will much annoy us in our making to the castle. We unhappily lost, this morning early, about 80 mares and colts, being feeding over in the marishes, the guard whereof being too soon drawn off; at the loss of which we had some bickering with them; lost about two men, but could do no good. Having dispatched with the lieutenant-colonel, I came on board our ship.

7th.—About noon, my purser came down from Bonratty, and brought me a letter from the lieutenant-colonel, by which I perceived him to be somewhat displeased at my last, wherein I excused myself as not being able at present to disburse the £30 or £40 in money which he desired, for provisions at Ferriter's Island; nor he sending down any, is the cause the hoy hath not her dispatch. I had intelligence of an assault the enemy made upon us, thinking to gain our cattle, and entrench themselves nearer; but, being discovered, were beaten out of that imagination. We took a captain and a lieutenant, and one common man, prisoners (the lieutenant since dead), and killed 20 in the place. It blew hard at NW. by N.

8th.—In the morning, early, I sent up the pinnace to Bonratty, as also a letter to Captain Brown, desiring him to go to the lieutenant-colonel, and entreat him to hasten away the hoy's dispatch, if he intend her for Ferriter's Island, for the gaining supply of provisions, as was formerly thought expedient. I willed him likewise to tell him, I held it necessary that he made timely demands of such ammunition (as he conceived) he should want, and we be able to supply, before the rebels blocked up the water passage to Bonratty Castle, as was most probable they would; and then he being in want of necessaries, and yet we want means to furnish him, and so the service be obstructed. I answered also his letter for my going up to him. About eleven at night, our pinnace returned, with the captain which was yesterday taken prisoner, whom the lieutenant-colonel requested might be secured on board; alledging divers reasons, which I allowed of, and consented unto. In his letter also was mention made of 20 barrels of powder, some fire-works, with what bullet of musquet or carbine we had made of the lead come down, which he desired might be sent. I received a letter also from Captain Brown to the same effect, and that a ship might (with my good liking) be appointed to ride

against the pass, to intercept the rebels in their intended going over.

9th.—Early this morning I answered the letters, and sent away with the first of the tide, about six of the clock, 10 barrels of powder (providing 10 more, ready for the next), with 4 cwt. of match, 6 cwt. of musquet-bullet, 6 granadoes, and ordered 4 more on board of Brown, to be delivered also. I took order with Mr. Sutherland for the going down of the hoy, to make a survey along the shore, where any store of cattle were feeding, that so we might with convenience prey upon them, for the relief of the garrison. I received another letter from the lieutenant-colonel, acknowledging with thanks the receipt of the forementioned ammunition, and requesting my company at Bonratty, to consult about the present affairs. The tide serving about five afternoon, I went up in our pinnace; about nine I was with him, who told me the hoy's going to Ferriter's Island was altogether unnecessary, in regard of the present industry of the rebels being more than usual and agreeing with his intelligence of their necessity, either instantly to gain, or suddenly to quit, the place; and so would not admit of such a procrastinate supply. After this he requested my advice about the riding of a vessel at the pass, to hinder the rebels' coming into the *corkasse*,[1] which pass I viewed, and held it fitting. This being done, he informed me of a skirmish between us and the rogues. Our men, digging a trench to secure the foresaid *corkasse*, were set upon by the rebels, intending to beat them from their

[1] I am unable to explain this term; but it appears, from the following conflicting etymologies, to have denoted some work raised for planting a gun.—"*Carcaissum*, *Carcayssis*, *Carcoissium*, *Carcosium*, garnitiones inventæ in "Castro Carcass. an. 1294: baliste unius pedis." (Du Cange.)—Menage, at the word *Carcasse*, quotes thus from the Gloss. German. of Wachter: "*Karkase*, theca pyrobolica, pharetra fulminis bellici, ab Italico *carcasso*, quod "est à Gallico *carquois*, et hoc à Germanico *kocher*, littera r in medium "rejecta."—"*Corchiere*, the battlement of a wall."—(Cotgrave, Dict. Fr. and Engl. 1632.)

works; but, with the loss of 15 men, shamefully retreated. I considered the want of wood in the garrison, and took order for a timely supply. It growing late, and the lieutenant-colonel having business to do, I took leave of him, and went on board Dacre, quartering there this night.

10*th.*—I called a council of war concerning the riding of a ship at the foresaid *corkasse*, and concluded it very necessary, and so ordered Captain Farmer, of the *Green* frigate, to do this service. And in regard there were four murtherers[1] on board of Brown and Swymmer unuseful at the present, upon the request of the commander of Pen's Fort; they were ordered to be sent on shore to that fort, for the clearing the flankers. Things being thus disposed, I took leave of the commanders, and returned on board again. This day the hoy went down near so low as Enniscattery, and the next tide came up again; in which passage, up and down, they discovered not many cattle; yet where that small number was, upon their approach to the shore, the rebels drave them up into the country; so that I fear we shall do little good this way.

11*th.*—I caused the hoy to weigh this morning and go to Enisdrum, an island to the northward of our riding, and there anchor; and our boat, with Captain Winnall's, to go on shore and cut wood for the supply of the lieutenant-colonel, in which they spent this day. We saw very many great guns fired on both sides this day, so that I believe there was hot service above; but what news as yet we know not. I received a letter from the lieutenant-colonel, desiring me to go up to Bonratty about some affairs not to be committed to paper. Intelligence came, that all the shot the rebels made were at a house we keep, which is much battered; but being (as is intended) repaired again, will not easily be lost.

12*th.*—This morning I went up to the lieutenant-colonel,

[1] A general term for ordnance of all calibers: App. A, c. 14.

whose business was (the enemy having made a very near approach) how to secure the best of his horse, without any present prejudice to the service by notice given to, or taken by, the rebels for their encouragement, or our forces, for their disheartening. We concluded the island, where we raised our fort, the most convenient place for that purpose; to which place they may be transported, or retransported, as occasion shall require. The hoy, having gotten her loading of wood, came up and anchored before Bonratty, and is there ordered to send it on shore for the use of the garrison, being so straitened that they cannot otherwise make supply. Having some business here for the next day, I could not (as I determined) return this night, but quartered on board of Dacre.

13*th*.—The lieutenant-colonel sent a letter to me on board the *Peter* frigate, requesting a supply of minion shot; otherwise they were sensible of the ensuing damage, by reason of the want thereof. We having spared what we had, and not being able to do more, agreed in a council of war, held this day, to make an exchange of guns; taking on board the minion, and planting the sacre in the room, having some store of that shot yet remaining, and so took order for that purpose. I returned from Bonratty about seven of the clock. This night Captain Clark, commander of the *Charles* frigate, came up to us; gave us five guns; we answered three; and so anchored by us. He came on board, told me what news was stirring, and so took leave. Captain Line, commander of the *Sampson*, sent his boat up to me (his ship being brought to an anchor below) with letters from my admiral, which I perused, and sent my master's mate on board him to pilot him up the river, because he was not acquainted with the channel.

14*th*, *Sunday*.—Early this morning Captain Line came up with his ship, and anchored by us. He came on board our ship, and brought me a letter from my Lord of Broghill; with whom having conferred, we went to the duties of the day.

15*th.*—This morning I went on board Captain Line's ship, and from thence, with him and Captain Winnall, I went up to Bonratty to consult with M'Adam about the common affairs; but first called on board the shipping, to inquire how all went with them. I received a letter from M'Adam to go on shore, which immediately I did. He informed me of the necessity of getting a prey of cattle for the sustentation of the garrison; which we resolved should be, by sending down a party of soldiers as soon as might be, assisted with a party of our seamen, as also of Captain Farmer's, going again to Sligo. But before we could conclude any thing, Captain Liston unexpectedly came in and up, and anchored by the frigates here; brought letters to M'Adam from my Lord of Broghill, as also to me, requesting me to spare what ammunition I possibly could for the use of the garrison; brought some soldiers for the strengthening thereof; and told us that Capt. Coachman was near, if not got in the river. Our men sallied out last night, did some execution upon the rebels, and returned into the garrison.

16*th.*—Captain Coachman came in, and caused my letters from the admiral, Captain Batten, and others, to be sent up to Bonratty. We could not as yet resolve any thing concerning Swymmer's going hence, in regard of the uncertainty of sending the horses to my Lord of Broghill, which he desired; yet ordered him and Liston to fall down so low as where we ride. Having done with M'Adam, and taken my leave of him, we all went down on board our ships.

17*th.*—The barge came down according to my order yesterday, by which I sent up an 100 minion shot to M'Adam: our boats likewise carried up 60 soldiers to Bonratty, brought by Captain Coachman; which, with those that came with Liston, make up an 100 good proper men to look upon. God grant they may prove truer to their cause and colours than the Welch have done, and no doubt they will do good service. At ten at night the barge returned again;

brought me two letters from M'Adam, and one from Captain Brown. By those from the lieut.-colonel, I received intelligence of a great volley of small-shot, at least a 1000 musquets, given by the rebels, who then fired three beacons in our sight; one at Cappah Castle, one at Captain Hunt's Castle, and a third on the top of the hill above Limerick, which burned all the whole night and this day; their whole army, horse and foot, drawn into battalia, standing to their arms. What this means, he nor we yet knowing, he desired me to come to-morrow, and bring Captain Coachman with me: to which I returned answer, I would (God willing) be with him.

18*th*.—I went up with Captain Coachman to Bonratty. After some conference had with the lieut.-colonel, he told me he was resolved not to send any horses to my Lord of Broghill, notwithstanding his lordship's earnest desire to that purpose; which comes not to my account. He requested me, that the *Charles* frigate might ride by Captain Farmer, for the better stopping of the passage; and that, after a while, Farmer might be fitted for his expedition to Sligo; as also that Swymmer, or Liston, might stay for his letters to my Lord of Broghill, &c. They brought down their ships this evening tide, and anchored by us. He told me of his intention to sally out upon the enemy, by the break of day next morning; and so, having dispatched what business I had above, we returned on board.[1]

19*th*.—About two this morning was the foresaid sally performed, and very hot service between us and the rebels, both with great and small shot; of which, the relation made to me after was this: Our men getting into their works, drove them before them, spoiled their baskets, did good execution upon the enemy, and so retreated.

About nine in the morning I received a note from Captain

[1] "18*th June*.—Vice-Admiral Batten was appointed Governor of Holy Island."—WHITELOCK, p. 209.

Swymmer, together with another jointly subscribed by his men, by which I was informed of the insufficiency of his ship (in regard of her extraordinary leakiness) to go to sea, until some course be taken with her: for the ordering of which, as of other affairs, I commanded a flag of council to be hung out, and a gun to be shot off. We being met, agreed that Captain Liston should take in Swymmer's guns, and so the ship be haled on shore at Eniscattery and thoroughly searched, and to give them orders for that purpose; also, that every ship in the river should spare a carpenter to work upon her: and in regard the *Encrease* and *Roebuck* were now called off from the service of the state here, and that Farmer is, upon the dispatch of the lieut.-colonel's letters to Sir Charles Coote, to go directly to Sligo, it was adjudged necessary that Captain Winnall should go up with his ship, and ride near Bonratty, for the better countenancing the design, and strengthening our party. Lastly, we not having sixteen days' beer for the state ships now in this squadron, it was conceived necessary that our empty casks should be sent to Kinsale, there to be fitted and filled with beer, and so returned to us by the next conveyance: to this we subscribed. I received a letter by the barge, from M'Adam, requesting me, among other things, to let Liston go directly to Bristol; but being ordered by my admiral to call in at Milford, I shall dispose of him accordingly.

21*st*, *Sunday*.—No business, but the duties of the day, performed. At night, I received a letter from the lieut.-colonel, informing me that his dispatches for my lord of Broghill were ready; but I would more willingly have had them than have heard of them, in regard of the sudden departure of the ships, which were for nought else detained here but to wait upon him and his pacquet. I returned answer by Ensign Plummer, who brought me mine.

22*d*.—This day I spent in writing letters to my admiral, the vice-admiral, and others. At night I received a letter

from M'Adam, by which he seemed to be discontented for some words, worse taken than meant, by one of our seamen, concerning the transport of some sheep-skins, which he desired might be carried, by the *Roebuck* and *Encrease*, where the best market might be made of them. I instantly returned answer; gave him an account thereof, as I had received upon examination (a thing very trivial in itself, and not worth the notice); and also desired him to send down what sheep-skins he would have transported, but not too many, in regard the ships were already filled with empty casks, to get beer for our men. I put him in mind of his pacquet, willing him to send it down, that the ships might not wait upon it, and greater service be neglected. This night our men sallied out, did execution upon the enemy, killing divers of them, and bringing away some of their cannon-baskets, without the hurt of any one of our men. To God be the glory!

23*d.* — I received a letter from the lieut.-colonel, in which were some requests unto me, which I fulfilled, and returned answer, once more desiring his packet of letters might be sent down, otherwise the ships should go without it, resolving to clear them away the next tide.

24*th.* — Between one and two in the morning I received three letters from M'Adam: one for ten barrels of powder, (I sent order to Captain Winnall to spare so many of the *Globe's* store which he had on board); another, desiring the assistance of what men and arms we could possibly spare, in regard of the intelligence he received of the rebels' intention (this day being a festival with them) to storm all our works together; which I forthwith performed, sending up between 30 and 40 men out of our three ships here, besides them already there, and took order with the ships aloft to do the like: the third was concerning the sheep-skins, &c. With these letters from M'Adam, came one likewise from Captain Brown, by which I had notice of a sally made yesterday by our men upon the enemy; but being much engaged, and not

able to make retreat, after some execution done upon the rogues, had near upon thirty of our men killed and wounded. I wrote to him, to hasten the return of our men with what convenient speed he could.

25*th.*—Early this morning our men returned on board, the enemy having no stomach to so dangerous a design as was reported; though, indeed, they have men enough to eat us. M'Adam's pacquet of letters, for which I so long looked, came down also. I gave Capt. Swymmer and Capt. Liston present order to be gone, the very first opportunity of wind or weather. I received a letter from the lieut.-colonel, M'Adam, requesting some more minion shot. We, not having many, shall yet send up by the next conveyance what we can possibly spare. The barge came down, and I gave order for ten men out of each ship to man the barge, and hoy, &c., and so go down and use their best endeavours for the intercepting of some of the rebels' boats, which they have gotten.

26*th.*—This day, about ten of the clock, Captain Liston weighed and stood down, in company with Captain Hodder's pinnace. I also manned the galleot and barge with 30 men, armed, and put our cuddy-gun on board the barge, giving them order to use their utmost endeavours for the surprising of one or more, if possible, of the rebels' boats, so that they might be disabled the assaying to carry any barks coming up the river.

27*th.*—The hoy and the barge returned up again, without the surprisal of any boat of the rebels'; brought me a letter from Capt. Swymmer. I received also the examination of one Francis Hawkesworth, an Englishman, once employed by my Lord of Thomond in his service, and since taken by the rebels, now escaped from them; and being under the protection of Sir Teague M'Mahon (one well affected to the English), but willing to go for England, came on board the ships in one of their boats. But, in regard I had not had any conference with him myself, caused the hoy to be fresh manned with

seven men and arms out of each ship of us below, and so to go down again; as also to sound the river, and to bring up the said Hawkesworth. I received also a letter, about six at night, from the lieutenant-colonel, desiring me and the rest of the commanders to repair up to Bonratty immediately upon the sight thereof, as we tendered the safety of the garrison. I, not willing to grapple with over-engagements, or that the safety of the garrison should be prejudiced by any neglect of mine, was willing to comply; and so, with the rest of the commanders in company, went up about seven towards Bonratty.

29th, Sunday.—Not being able to do any thing the last night, in regard it was late ere we got up, and the lieutenant-colonel had much business concerning the particulars of the garrison, I desired him to take some time to make his necessity known in writing, that so we might (being all above) deliberately determine of them, and conclude for his advantage, which he promised to do; and so for that night took leave of him, and came on board the frigates. This morning I requested Captain Coachman to go on shore to Bonratty, and bring with him, at his return, M'Adam's demands: which, about eight in the morning, he did, jointly directed to us all; which were, for the landing of what men and arms we could possibly spare, together with fire-works, &c., having intelligence of the enemy's intentions to storm the garrison by a general assault. Our morning sermon at the fort being ended, I called a council of war, in which we agreed (notwithstanding some of our men were already on shore for the guard of the island and the fort thereon, together with a continual necessity of keeping the hoy well manned to pass to and again, not being able to get either wood or water without a considerable party) to send on shore, out of our nine ships, 64 men, with four granadoes and one fiz-gig out of the *Charles* frigate, as also four granadoes more out of the *Trial* pink; which were accordingly done. And more-

over, to make an exchange of two minion for two sacre, because we had no more minion shot remaining. I received divers letters from the lieutenant-colonel, which I answered, and dispatched other needful affairs.

29*th.*—In regard of the great necessity of securing the fort and island, the enemy having made a near approach to the garrison, I staid above the last night; and this morning early, drew out of the ships aloft what men could possibly be spared for making a line and work, for hindrance of horse and foot to approach the island; and so I spent this day. At night I received a letter from the lieut.-colonel, wherein he expressed his expectation of seeing me at the garrison this day; but the fore-mentioned work would not suffer me. As also, he desired me to send a man of our own on shore to command our seamen, lest they should not like to be commanded by his officers. Captain Brown came on board, and told me he had satisfied the lieutenant-colonel in this particular, there being Captain Winnall's boatswain on shore, who was both able and willing to undergo the task.

30*th.*—We continued working all hands at the line, and this day brought it to good pass. The wind blew so hard at W. and was such extreme foul weather, with much rain and dirt, that no boat could get down; nor had I yet settled things to my mind. So that, if the weather had been better, I could scarcely have been spared to go down aboard our own ship.

July 1*st.*—Early this morning I received a letter from the lieutenant-colonel, certifying me, that in regard he hourly expected the enemy to make an assault, he requested me to continue the two minion on shore till the storm were over; one for case-shot to defend the corkasse, the other to clear Captain Jefford's house, &c.; as also, to entreat my opinion about some business of high concernment; which I (after the transaction of some affairs then in hand) acceded to, and went to Bonratty, where I found him and his officers at a council

of war: in which I desired not to interpose, as not willing to engage myself in the shore-affairs, otherwise than I might with freedom perform my duty in my proper sphere; and so, walked about the works till the council was concluded and the assembly dissolved; I mean, from serious matters, but again convened to dinner. At which the lieutenant-colonel sitting, the rebels made divers shots at Jefford's house; which they had often attempted to gain, but as yet could not. He (hearing them shoot so thick, and ply their guns so hard,) rose from the table, went to the house to see what breaches were made, and to encourage his men; where being entered, a shot was made, by which the lieutenant-colonel, John M'Adam, was most unhappily slain, to the general lamentation of us all. Upon which I, being there by, hearing a muttering among the common soldiers about some money that M'Adam had found in the castle, out of which they desired some part of their pay, I willed them to put a guard upon his chamber that night. As also, some differences among the officers being risen, I endeavoured the allaying thereof for the present, and moved that every one might be appointed his post, and charged carefully to attend it; lest any Welchman, or other, running away, should inform the enemy of the death of the lieutenant-colonel, and so encourage them to make an assault when they were not in a posture able to receive them. Also, I desired the officers to think upon a course whereby my Lord of Broghill might be made sensible of the present condition of the garrison, and I would in any thing thereunto conducing be assistant to them; which they conceiving necessary, I staid above this night also.

2d.—This morning, very early, I went on shore into the castle, where I found some of the officers in M'Adam's chamber, having there 18 bags of money, and some plate, before them, which, with two more formerly disposed of, were found by the lieutenant-colonel in the castle. I, perceiving them to be resolute in sharing the money among them, willed them

to consider, that money is the nerves and sinews of war, which being spent, the strength of that side must needs be weakened and abated; and therefore desired, that look, whatsoever they disposed of, yet a sufficient stock should be left as a reserve for the future, which would much encourage the common soldier. But, what power my poor rhetoric to this purpose had, you may easily guess, if ever you saw or heard it practised on a covetous miser. They kept on their course, and would not be dissuaded. I received a request, subscribed by Major Hooper, now commander-in-chief, Capt. Vauclier, &c., for a ship to be sent to Cork or Kinsale, to inform the Lord of Broghill of their condition, and to entreat some speedy course for the relief of the garrison. It was concluded upon, by a general consent among us, that Captain Clark, commander of the *Charles* frigate, was the most fitting to perform this service; I therefore ordered him to fall down to the place where our ship rideth, and there anchor till further order. I desired them to dispatch their letters of information to my Lord of Broghill, left a boat to bring them down, with some trusty able messenger to deliver them, and so came down on board our ship. I wrote a letter to my lord also; furnished Captain Clark, at his request, with a barrel of powder, for which, taking his acknowledgment, I gave him his warrant immediately to quit this river, ply with all speed for Kinsale, there to deliver such letters as he had in charge to my lord, to make as speedy repair hither again as wind and weather shall permit.

3d.—This morning early, before the tide was done, Captain Clark weighed, gave us three guns, we returning one; he went down. God send him good speed! I sent one of our boats up, with provisions for our men, at whose return I was informed, that the guns the rebels shot were at Jefford's house; and that another Welchman, running away the last night, told the enemy of the death of the lieutenant-colonel; who called to our men, and bid them 'get a better com-

mander,' when they had not such a one among them: I would also such rogues might be hanged, for example's sake. The rebels intend this night an assault for the gaining of the corkasse, but I hope they will come short of it.

4th.—I went up to Bonratty, accompanied with Captain Coachman, to take some order about our men, either for the sending them down, or relieving them with a fresh supply, if occasion were. Concerning which, after conference had with the major and the rest of the officers, they, expecting every hour when the enemy would give them an assault, desired the continuance of the old, or fresh men in their room, till this expected brunt was over; which was concluded on. As also a way and means for relieving the garrison, now destitute of provisions, with some cattle; which we intend, God blessing our endeavours, to put in execution. These things thus agreed upon, we returned on board again.

5th, Sunday.—I sent for Captain Line and Captain Coachman, willed them to gather a fresh crew for the relief of their men above, which having considered of, as very necessary for the strengthening of the garrison, they went on board their ships to effect; and so, with some difficulty, which cannot be avoided when men are enforced to land-service, we sent up our number of fresh men, with a letter by my cockswain to the major, for a return of the old; as also a letter to Captain Brown, requesting him to give thanks to Captain Winnall's boatswain for his care in commanding our men on shore; and desiring his continuance there during the necessity of our men's stay, being more willing to obey being commanded by one of our own, than by any other officer.

6th.—The last night, late, our boats returned from Bonratty, with the men relieved. About twelve came down the barge, and in her one lieutenant and 50 soldiers, the men and number agreed upon for the gaining of prey for the present relief of the garrison. I received also a letter from

the major. I gave order that the soldiers should come on board, and stay till the tide served in the morning to go down; and so, early, sent the lieutenant, which was to command these 50 soldiers, on board Captain Coachman, with a pilot to guide him down with his ship, so low (if need be) as Eniscattery; ordered the hoy and barge to take in the men, and fall down after Captain Coachman, some distance of time observed, that no notice might be taken of it; and so, with what advice and assistance I possibly could, furthered them in their intended design. Our forces having quit Jefford's house, the enemy possessed it; but we quickly beat them out of it again. Next tide serving up, I wrote an answer to the major's letter, and, for better satisfaction to some particulars therein, willed my master-gunner to go up with it. About twelve at night our boat returned on board, with another letter from the major, complaining of his want of ammunition, requesting some supply thereof, as also of provisions. He informed me of the near approach of the enemy, within pistol-shot of our works; which I am sad to hear.

7th.—In commiseration of the want of provisions and ammunition mentioned in the last received, I sent up, of ammunition, 10 barrels of powder, 50 sacre shot, and 20 faulcon, with some match which the gunner had gleaned out of others' stores, not belonging to ours; with such provisions of beef and pork as could be gotten, being about four or five hogsheads; all which (being as much as was demanded) I sent up by the gunner and purser, with another letter to the major.

8th.—Captain Line and myself went up to Bonratty to take some order with the major about the transport of the lame and wounded soldiers, together with such women and children as remained in the garrison. Captain Coachman, the hoy, and barge, came up again; having gotten from the enemy 40 steers and milch cows, 30 sheep, besides what cattle the soldiers had; all which I resolved for the present

relief of the garrison, the enemy being set down so close that they must now look to be plyed hard; and therefore ordered the hoy to carry up part of the cattle to Bonratty. And so having dispatched what business lay ready at hand, I returned with Capt. L. on board our own ships.

9*th*.—I sent up 20 cattle more by the hoy to the garrison. Captain Line and Captain Coachman coming on board, we consulted about a conveniency of dispatching the maimed soldiers, women and children, so soon as they should be ready. The enemy plyed very hard at one Keeme's house (which is within the house which Captain Jefford maintained so long), killed one man, hurt two; a great part of the house being battered down. A Frenchman, a trooper of ours, ran away to the rogues, with his horse, pistols, and carbine. The enemy got a gun down this day into the corkasse, which flanks all our works, and will thereby do us very much damage.

10*th*.—I caused the rest of the cattle to be killed and salted, for the use of the garrison; and so, with Capt. L. and Capt. C. in company, went up to Bonratty; and not finding either Farmer or Hall to ride at their appointed and accustomed places, I doubted all was not well. Coming up to the ships, I understood the enemy had gotten the corkasse, which we so much had laboured to maintain; for, having beaten off the two ships, one being shot through the hull, the other through the sails, and not being able to make good their riding, or damnify the enemy, they were forced to quit the place, and anchor higher among the rest of the ships.

11*th*.—I believe the Frenchman, which ran away yesterday, did us no small discourtesy; for, by break of day this morning, they began very hotly to assault us, forcing between our out and home guards; which our men quitting, and that unworthily, made a confused retreat to the island, where I found many of them at my landing. I caused them to be ferried over immediately, for the making good of the eastwardmost corkasse, &c., and to that purpose sent a mess

to the major, desiring him (seeing things were at no better pass) to use his best endeavours for the making good of that corkasse; and for that purpose, gather his scattered companies, and cheer up his men: this being done, we should be able to afford them convenient relief by sea; and withal willed him to make demands of such things as he wanted, and were within our power to supply him with, least he should be put to that strait (and that not unlikely, more's the pity) that neither he could demand, nor we relieve. And therefore sent down on board our ship for 10 barrels of powder, 50 demi-culverin shot, 1 barrel of small shot, and 9 skaines of match (all which came up), to be in a readiness, as occasion required, for the use of the garrison. The major sent Captain Turner with this message to me: 'That he was altogether out of hope to maintain the garrison any longer, not having ammunition, after this rate of expence, for above three days more.' To which I returned answer, before some other of the commanders, 'That it was their own fault they were not better furnished, having often solicited them to a careful and timely provision; as also with musquet-shot, concerning which I at present say nothing. Yet (for the removing this block), I undertook that there should not be (by God's blessing upon my endeavours) any sensible want thereof, whilst we had any on board our ships.' But (as if they had already determined to yield to the enemy) he further replied: 'The soldiers were so much wasted with over duty, so much discouraged by the loss of the corkasse, and so much overpowered with the enemy's multitudes, that they would not stand any longer to their arms; and therefore desired me to send some boats for the fetching off what guns could be gained, together with my Lord of Thomond's lumber (as he termed it), which was in the castle; which they were resolved to quit, swimming over their horses, and making an escape themselves to the eastwardmost corkasse, to make good their ground there, till they could

'possibly get on board our ships:' all which was as far from my affection, as it was impossible for them to bring to perfection. Yet, observing what course was taken, I promised the assistance of our boats, if by money, or fair words, or both, I could persuade our seamen to engage themselves, whose hearts (by the evil example of the soldier, and the pusillanimity of the commander) were now quite fallen. But Turner had not been gone from me scarce two hours, with my answer to the major, but the enemy (believing our men too small a number to resist them) possessed themselves of this corkasse also; so that now we were unable, either by sea or land, to give any assistance to our party in the castle. Immediately I shipped all the women and children from off the island, where our fort was raised; placed them on board the several ships, as well as the heat of our employment would give leave. Having secured them, I caused some breast-works to be added to the rest for the safety of the island, lest the enemy's horse should attempt the gaining of it. I staid there myself, till the tide was so high that there was neither fear nor danger of their present approach. After two very hot skirmishes, and of some continuance, between our men and the rebels, we (being yet on the island) imagined, by the quietness of both parties, they were in treaty; but how, or about what, we could not gain intelligence.

11*th*.—There was not one great gun or musquet discharged on either side the last night, nor as yet this morning. About eleven of the clock, Captain Dechicke and Lieut. Gibbon, bringing with them a captain of the rebels, came on board the *Peter* frigate, where I was, to give me notice of the present condition of the garrison; that they had not above 300 serviceable men among them, the rest being either killed or maimed, and so not able to make any longer resistance, but must be constrained to make their conditions, and so required my advice. I desired to know upon what terms, and to see their propositions; which were—having quarter, with

a convoy to march to Cork by land, to quit the garrison with bag and baggage, their artillery and horse, drums beating, colours flying, and musquet-bullet in their mouths; with the rest that were hurt, to be transported by the shipping to Cork or Kinsale. I could not dislike the propositions, if granted by the rebels; but yet was more willing to have the garrison maintained, expecting daily to hear some comfortable news from my Lord of Broghill. Notwithstanding, they, concluding it could not be, departed. For my part, I could say nothing to, nor would determine any thing further therein, because I saw how they in the castle stood affected.

In setting this rebel on shore, our boat was long by them detained; and so long, that we feared we had lost both our men and it. At last, by an officer, they were discharged. The major desiring to have Captain Fitz-Gerald (our prisoner on board) sent on shore to him, the tide serving, I sent down for him, but resolved not to put him into their hands, till I heard the propositions were on both sides agreed upon. During the parley, these most perfidious rogues, about six of the clock (having fitted themselves for that purpose), made divers shot at our shipping, where we ride; shot one of them through and through, spoiled her main-mast, and killed a man on board her; another also received a shot, but did not hurt a man. They plied us so hard, with two guns at a time, for seven shot together, that we were forced to let slip; and the tide (as it pleased God) serving well, we got up higher into the river. In this condition, riding within musquet-shot of the shore, and expecting to be galled by the enemy's guns, I called the captains together, and consulted what was best to be done. At last, by a general consent, it was agreed, (being conceived impossible for us to continue our riding here aloft any longer) that, with what speed might be, the ships should weigh, and fall down so low that they might not lie within the command of the rebels' guns. Which (seeing their industry to annoy us) could not be done, unless we fell down

fear of a surprisal by the rebels,) to set these women on shore, having my pass to the general for the security of such persons as should be employed for answer of the said letters; and, for a signal of the same, they were (if they came by land) to make a fire on the shore, in that very place where the women landed. Our boats (having dispatched this business) came on board again. We hourly expected answer, and, at last, discovered a fire on shore near the place appointed; whereupon I caused our boats to be manned as before, and so to repair, as near as possibly they could, with a flag of truce in the head of one of the boats. But 'twas not the fire which we imagined: our boats drawing nigh, were welcomed with some shot from the rebels, which made them ply off, and keep a distance, waiting a while; but seeing no other entertainment, they returned again without any hurt: for which, God be praised!

14*th.*—About seven this morning came down a boat from the rebels, with a captain of theirs, a lieutenant and ensign of ours, with certain articles of agreement (interchangeably signed, by the Lord Muskerry on their part, and the major and officers on ours) for the surrender of the castle. The conditions were so mean, and so far beneath the honour of a soldier, that I should never have consented thereunto. Yet, things past cure ought to be past care: I performed my part therein, which is, to send up Captain Fitz-Gerald to the garrison, with boats to bring off our seamen and soldiers, upon such conditions as per copy of the articles appears. I took order for the relief of such soldiers as were already escaped; willed Captain Farmer to take in what wounded men he possibly could; wrote a letter (with the copy of the articles) to my Lord of Broghill; gave him his warrant to quit the river, and ply for Kinsale with all convenient speed. About five this afternoon he weighed. About nine, the hoy, with all our boats, returned from Bonratty, as full of soldiers and inhabitants, men, women, and children, as they could thrust,

which put me to no small trouble to dispose of; yet, so conveniently as the present opportunity would give leave, I shipped them on board our several ships.

15th.—The rest of the inhabitants, with the commanders, came down, having quit the garrison, and the rebels taken possession of it; which did not a little grieve me, after all the care and pains which I had taken, night and day; but it was not in my power to work a remedy. I ordered these, with as much accommodation both for themselves and our seamen as the time (being night) would permit.

16th.—We weighed from Beth-road, and came down to Enniscattery. In the afternoon I caused all the soldiers on board our ships to be landed on the island, mustered them there, taking also the number of the passengers, that so we might be able to distribute to every ship a proportionable number, according to her burthen and convenience of stowage; putting the sick, lame, and wounded, together into one ship, that so the whole and healthy might not be prejudiced by an intermixture. I took the major and his company (being so agreed upon), with Captain Jefford and the remainder of his, on board of me; so all the rest, being well refreshed, were re-shipped, and came on board. Our proportion of beer being small, our company great, and numbers many, we were constrained to make a more plentiful provision of water; which proved very scarce here, and not to be supplied on any of the adjacent islands; yet here we filled, and got on board, what we could. The wind S. and S. by E.; a handsome gale, and fair weather.

17th.—About seven in the morning, we, and the rest of our fleet, weighed from the island of Enniscattery; it being then half ebb, and little wind at south. We came down to Sir Donnel O'Brien's Castle, where we were forced to anchor. I sent on shore to see for more water, what we had being little, and that none of the best; but could not be suffered to make search for any. Upon this, the major sent a letter on shore

to those that had the command of the castle, giving them to understand his resentment of their inhumanity, in denial of provisions and water, contrary to the Lord of Muskerry's promise and engagement; which, if not performed, he resolved to take per force what the soldier should stand in need of, and therefore expected their present compliance. The tide being done, it fell quite calm. I conferred this night with the major, concerning the manner of delivering up the castle of Bonratty, and upon whom the most suspicion of blame (as he could judge) might be laid; having so long and so bravely maintained it, notwithstanding all the attempts, violent assaults, &c. which had been made against it. To which he returned answer, that the main fault was in those to whose trust the keeping of the corkasse was committed, the most considerable place belonging to the whole garrison. Yet, had that not been lost, nor their works stormed, he should have been so necessitated for want of provisions, &c., that, within four days at the farthest, he must have surrendered.

18*th.*—Between five and six in the morning, having no means or hopes for the getting of water, &c., we weighed again from Sir Donnel O'Brien's Castle, and made out of the river. About two, afternoon, we met with Capt. Clark of the *Charles* frigate, come from Kinsale, some two leagues off at sea. Clark hoisted out his boat, and came on board; informed me of the supply my Lord of Broghill had designed for the garrison of Bonratty; that he had now on board 50 soldiers, under the command of Captain Heyford, and that the rest were coming after, with provisions, &c. But the garrison being (as is fore-mentioned) delivered up, we concluded to recarry those which he now had brought, with the rest. Hall's vessels being very much astern of all our fleet, and not being able to get out, nor could she with any safety stay within; for her security, and the preservation of those many souls on board her, we were forced to put in again;

and coming to an anchor where we were before, sent on shore for such provisions as we wanted, which at length we had (such as the place afforded) for our money, but could get no water.

19*th*, *Sunday*.—We, having performed the duties of the day, in the afternoon sent on shore again for water, being very sensible of the want thereof, but could not speed. Lieutenant Mosely also was sent on shore by the major, to buy some more provisions; who returned with this answer, 'that 'in the morning we should be ascertained what they could 'do in this kind for us, or we expect from them.'

20*th*.—The major, with other officers, went this morning on shore, to speak with Sir Donnel O'Brien, or he that commands his castle, about some more provisions for the soldiers; who caused some of the country to come down, and bring their cattle; of whom they bought a score of beeves and cows, with fowls and other things, for their refreshment.

21*st*.—I gave order to Captain Clark, to deliver to Captain Brown and Captain Dare, each of them, a butt of beer (he having some to spare), till it please God to send us to Kinsale; not being able hereabouts to furnish ourselves with water, notwithstanding our great and pressing necessity. We weighed from hence, and went up to Enniscattery again (the soldier having drunk us dry), to supply ourselves afresh; the wind also not fitting us to put to sea. In consideration of our former want, and our own sensibility thereof, I caused all the casks we had on board every ship to be sent on shore, and filled our casks till we had emptied the wells, and so brought on board what possibly we could.

22*d*.—The wind continuing contrary, and being very fair weather, I gave command that all the soldiers of each ship, together with others, women, and children, should be sent on shore, to pick, wash, and refresh themselves, to avoid diseases which might grow among us; and so washed and cleansed our ships; the weather being hot, and the season

(exalted by our infinite numbers on board) perilous. We increased our stores of water; and so, night drawing on, having reshipped our companies, I gave order to the whole squadron to weigh the next high water, being about nine at night, which was accordingly done; and so turning down to Sir D. O'Brien's Castle, we there anchored.

23d.—About nine in the morning we weighed from Sir D. O'Brien's Castle, and turned out. The wind coming to S.S.W., and Hall's vessel being much behind us, we lay with our topsails down to wait for him. At last, Captain Line's ship coming up to us, I commanded him to stay for Hall, and give him a tow; we, making easy sail, would keep before them with the light, that so we might not lose one another.

25th.—About one in the morning we cast about to the southward; the wind coming to W.N.W. The Blascoes bore S.S.W. It blew a very hard gale, with gusts and rain, and a very great sea, so that we could not possibly weather the Blascoes, but were forced through the Sound; none of our fleet, saving Captain Brown of the *Trial* pink. The Sound is very clear; only one sunk rock lying in the midst, against the southwardmost point. Both sides are very bold; the island side the best. The Sound lies S.S.W. and N.N.E., thorrow. About ten, forenoon, we got through the Sound; about eleven, we passed through the Skelligs; about twelve, we were thwart the Darses; the rest of our fleet (excepting Brown) being so far behind us, that they were out of sight: which, as I suppose, are returned to the river of Limerick; and may (I hope) meet with some of their shipping which have lain so long, not daring to come out.

26th, Sunday.—This day, about noon, we came into Kinsale harbour. Captain Brown likewise came in, and anchored by us. I caused the soldiers which I had on board to be set ashore, having first wrote unto my lord president for that purpose; and so, taking our pinnace, went on board my admiral, whom I found riding here at our coming in.

27th.—I went on board my admiral, who enquired of our condition, to whom I gave account; but demanding in what plight our ship was after her lying on the rocks, I referred him for answer to the general voice and vote of the whole company. My admiral being here, I ceased acting, save what concerned my own particular ship.

28th.—About noon, came in the vice-admiral from Cork. I being engaged to the several ships left at Bonratty under my command, for provisions which the soldier had during the passage; some, yea the most, of which not being yet come in; I was not able to draw up my account, and therefore desired the major (to whom I went on shore of purpose) to see me fairly discharged.

29th.—I received a note from my admiral, to send our purser on board his ship *Lyon*, to give an account of such provisions as he received during our lying at the siege of Bonratty, and how they were disposed of by him; which I accordingly performed.

30th.—Mr. Chudleigh, by order from my admiral, came on board our ship, who, with our own carpenters, were to make survey of her; and to return answer, as they should be able to judge by the eye, and report of the company, whether she were further serviceable, or no, till she were docked: who reported, as per subscription appears.

31st.—My admiral desired report might, under hand jointly, be made by our ship's company, concerning the damage the ship received by lying on the rocks in the river of Limerick; which was accordingly performed. After that, he directed a letter to me, with the officers included, desiring to receive satisfaction in this particular, whether we durst adventure through the sea alone, in regard of the condition of our ship; which likewise received answer.

We held a council of war on board my admiral, the vice-admiral also being present, concerning the dispose of the several shipping now in Kinsale: The admiral and vice-

admiral, for convoys between England and Ireland; myself, not yet designed; Coachman, Winnall, and Clark, in and off of Limerick river and Galway; the *Sampson* and the *Peter* frigate to ply between the Old-head, Salters, and the Land's-end of England, where the *Discovery*, Capt. Plunkett's ship, was ordered to ply also. Brown and Hall were ordered to Milford, and the *Green* frigate for Youghall.

August 1*st.*—We were all on board my admiral, where we dined. News coming of my Lord of Broghill being in town, we hasted on shore to wait upon him; the cause of whose coming, was to go for England with the vice-admiral. Concerning which having conferred, and agreed upon, we came on board. The wind little; what was, at W.

2*d*, *Sunday.*—In the evening, the vice-admiral (having taken in my Lord of Broghill) left the harbour of Kinsale, to go for Bristol.

3*d.*—I went on board my admiral, to make even such accounts as passed between us, during the siege of Bonratty, and our continuance there; concerning the victualling of my squadron.

4*th.*—The rest of the squadron under my command, not being able to get about the Blascoes, nor daring to adventure through the Sound, returned back to the river of Limerick, and there took three prizes, to wit, the *Sampson*, the *Flushing* of Flushing, and the *Salt-kettle* of Middleburgh, laden with tallow, hides, butter, and wool; all which, with my remaining ships, came into Kinsale this day. My admiral took care of the prizes.

5*th.*—We spent this day on board my admiral, in examination of the skippers of the three ships that were taken, concerning their present design, and the reason of the long continuance they made above at Limerick, while we lay in the river; of which we found no certain resolution.

6*th.*—Being not well, through the melancholicallness of the place where I had been long mewed up, together with

the said success of our forces there, I was constrained to enter into a course of physic; and so was exempt from other business.

7th.—The lord president, with divers of the chief commanders, came to town; my admiral and myself went on shore to him, who made known the present necessity of this province, and desired my admiral's best assistance for their supply. He made answer, he would take it into consideration, and would resolve accordingly.

8th.—I went on board the admiral, where we consulted upon my lord's proposition; and ordered the goods on board the *Salt-kettle* and *Flushing* for the relief of these parts, and the other for the state, towards the defraying of charges.

9th, Sunday.—No employment, but the duties of the day and the service of God, performed.

10th.—I received some letters from my lord president, and the major of the forces which were at Bonratty, to which I returned answers; among which came a letter, subscribed by my lord, Colonel Jephson, &c.; the contents of which relating more to my admiral than myself, I went on board, and communicated to him the contents thereof.

11th.—This morning I received orders, in regard of the defectiveness of our ship, to repair to England, and so for London; in obedience to which, I caused our anchors to be brought on board, and so came down to the Lower Cove; but many of our men being on shore, as also wanting water, with some other necessaries (the wind being very inconstant, and not able to get further), we came to an anchor without my admiral.

12th.—Having gotten all our company on board, with such necessaries as we stood in need of, about four afternoon we set sail from the Lower Cove, the wind at N.N.W. and N., little wind, to go for England.

16th.—At four in the morning, the Lizard bore N.N.E. two leagues off, the wind at E. by N., a fresh gale and clear

weather. We cast about to the southward till six of the clock, and then to the northward. We spied a sail, off Black-head; who having discovered us, clapt close upon a wind, and so bore between us and the Lizard; but cutting him off from bearing about, we spoke with him, got out our pinnace, fetched the master on board, which was one Ladd, in a small fly-boat of eight guns, bound for Guinea, Peter Andrews, of London, merchant. We set the master on board again, and so stood to the southward."

End of the JOURNAL.

Penn's earnest desire for a change of ship, was at length gratified; and he was nominated to the command of the *Assurance,* a new-built frigate of 30 guns. His journal of his first voyage in this ship, begins on the 12th October, 1646, and is continued daily to the 17th September, 1647; his subsequent journals on the Irish station do not survive. The incidents of this year, in which he was chiefly employed on cruises in the Irish seas, though they comprise the capture of several of the rebels' and other ships, afford fewer subjects for selection than when he was attached to the coast of Munster, and acting in co-operation with the land forces. The same irksome mode of warfare continued until the termination of the Irish war, which it is not my purpose to pursue; and the reader will have found the preceding partial details of that war, in the south of Ireland, amply sufficient of their kind. I shall therefore now proceed by a series of official, or other authentic documents, serving to carry on the professional biography, and tending at the same time to throw some incidental light on the naval

practices and proceedings of that period; occasionally subjoining such remarks, as those documents may either require or suggest.

"*October 5th*, 1646.—Ordered, That all commissions made to sea-captains which were, as from the king and parliament, which some of them interpreted to the prejudice of the parliament's service, should be altered, and made in the name of the parliament only."[1]

"*8th.*—Captain Swanley petitions to be restored to the employment of admiral of the Irish seas."

"*Die Jovis, October 8th*, 1646.

PRESENT,

The Earl of Warwick.

Lord Dacres.	Sir Philip Stapleton.
Sir William Lewes.	Sir Henry Vane.
Sir William Erle.	Mr. Recorder.
Mr. Green.	Mr. Rolle.
Mr. Bence.	Mr. Lisle.

"Whereas the *Assurance*, under the command of Captain William Penn, is ready to go to sea, and the approbation of the said Captain Penn thereunto is not yet passed the house of commons, in respect of the great affairs there depending. Now, upon intimation from Mr. Green, that upon presenting the last winter's guards without the addition of the commanders' names, the house of commons expressed their sense to be, that such captains may have their commissions renewed as have had the houses' approbation in former expeditions, though their approbation be not renewed in succeeding expeditions; and for that the deferring of Captain Penn's commission will be a prejudice to the service, the committee thought fit to sign his commission; and the Earl of Warwick

[1] WHITELOCK, p. 224.

is desired to procure a message to be sent down from the house of peers, to receive this committee's recommendation of the said Captain Penn to that command."[1]

"*9th.*—The report from the committee of the Admiralty was read; and was for approving of Captain William Penn to command the *Assurance* frigate, lately built at Deptford. And it is thereupon resolved, That this house doth agree with the lords, and doth approve of Captain William Penn to command the lesser frigate, lately built at Deptford, called the *Assurance*, he having served the parliament formerly, several expeditions at sea, with courage and fidelity."[2]

"A commission was accordingly now signed, in the usual form, for Captain Penn's command of the *Assurance* frigate for this winter's guard, by the Earl of Warwick, Lord Dacres, Mr. Green, Mr. Rolle, and Mr. Bence."

"*15th.*—Captain Swanley (who had been admiral of the Irish seas in 1645, but was suspended on account of some matters alleged against him, but was acquitted before this committee) recommended to both houses of parliament to be captain of the ship *Lion*, and admiral of the Irish seas, for this winter's expedition: with a notice, that no reflection is intended to Captain Moulton, who had the command in this summer, and is now discharged: and the committee acknowledge his services, and will testify their affection for him on the first opportunity, by some honourable employment according to his merit."[3]

"Captain Batten recommended to be continued as vice-admiral and commander-in-chief, for this winter's expedition:—to have the *Leopard*, before commanded by Captain Bethel:—Captain Batten, as vice-admiral, to receive 40*s.* per diem."[4]

[1] Book of Entries, &c. of the Council of State, MS. (Oct. 8, 1646—Feb. 29, 1648), p. 6. [2] Commons' Journals.—WHITELOCK, p. 224.
[3] B. of Entr. &c. p. 13. [4] Ib. pp. 15, 16.

It is observable, that though Penn's commission as commander of the *Assurance* was dated on the 9th of October, and Batten's removal to the *Leopard* not until the 15th, Penn was apprised of Batten's removal, before he was aware of his own advancement; as appears from the following letter:

"*To Captain Batten, Vice-Admiral of England, &c. &c.*

MOST HONOURED SIR,

I have been now long, very long, abroad in such a ship as cannot profit the state, or benefit myself. If my deserts (which I may very well account mean, when far greater are esteemed none) cannot merit a third-rate ship, I shall desire a nimble active ship, as I may deserve the good report and repute which others have, as well as they. And if I must be so chained on this coast, I conceive (if I can look no higher) the *Providence* to be very convenient for these parts. But, could I be so happy as to meet yourself at London (as I might do if our ship put in at Bristol), and know the certain time of your being there, I make no question, but by your countenance and acquaintance I might be preferred, as soon as others (to my knowledge) less prone to serve the state, or credit their preferrors. I wonder much at your remove into the *Leopard;* I could wish to know some reason (if there be any) for it; perhaps it may make much for my information.

Sir, I do not pitch upon the *Providence,* as if I settled so upon her as that I would not be willing to entertain a better; but if Captain Swanley, my noble friend, came again upon this coast, who I dare swear desires no other for his vice-admiral than myself, I desire I may have all lawful favour therein. And, with respect be it spoken, shall account it a piece of injustice if I should not freely gain it.

The bearer hereof, being my servant, whom I sent on pur-

pose to visit yourself and some other friends with a few lines, will very suddenly (God willing) return again, by whom you may please to honour me with a line or two; according to which advice I shall (and account it happiness too) steer my course. But, should I come short of this my expectation, I desire rather the *Providence* than any other of the fourth-rate ships; and may (I hope) as well deserve her, as lazy, idle, cowardly fellows, who have as good and better ships.

Good sir, for God's sake, let me be ascertained of the time, or near the time, of your being at London, that I may seek some redress, being heartily weary of this dull and fruitless employment. Sir, I refer all to your wise disposal, and desire to act according to such principles (as) I have, or shall receive from you; so that the state may be faithfully served, yourself truly honoured, myself somewhat benefited; which is the prayer, and shall be the endeavour, of,

Sir,

Yours, &c.

W. P."

" 29*th.*—In consequence of an order from both houses of parliament, Captain Swanley's commission was signed as admiral of the Irish seas for the winters 1646, 1647, and captain of his majesty's ship, the *Lion.*"

" *To Captain Swanley, Admiral of the Irish Seas.*

MOST HONOURED SIR,

All humble and hearty respects to your good self and Mrs. Swanley presented; being not a little joyful to hear of your free and fair acquittance from those foul and false imputations, by which those enemies of goodness imagined to obfuscate the radiant beams of your resplendent virtues. Yet, I sorrow as much that I cannot enjoy one line of comfort from you. I hope you are pleased to continue your former good

opinion of my integrity to do you service, and shall wait an opportunity to be by you so commanded. If your other occasions will give leave, pray, sir, let this my servant convey a confirmation of your favour towards me, who will (God saying, Amen!) speedily return unto me. In the mean time, relying wholly on your never altering benignity, I cease to write; but shall never cease to be,

Good sir,

Your servant always to be commanded,

W. P."

"*To the Same.*

MOST HONOURED SIR, AND MY TRULY NOBLE FRIEND,

All health and happiness wait upon you. Finding (as I suppose) a convenient opportunity of conveyance, I could not but accompany the inclosed with a few respective[1] lines unto yourself, as a small yet real tender of my services, as also to congratulate your happy proceedings there; justly engaged thereunto, by former favours and future hopes. Here is but a small, very small portion of compliance;[2] if therefore your design shall be for the guard of these parts, as is much desired, I am confident no engagement there, can so much alter your affection here, as to quit an old, and make choice of a new friend; especially him who so cordially desires to serve you, and shall be happy, in the least occasion that presents itself, to manifest the same. All the good people from whence the inclosed came are in good health, excepting Mrs. Mary, who is in much danger. I am assisting to them in what I may, and somewhat more for your sake: and in

[1] See p. 156, note 1.

[2] "Disposition to yield to others."—(CLARENDON.) JOHNSON.

that, or any thing else, I shall count it none of the least favours to be accepted of, and accounted for,

Your most real and cordial servant,

W. P."

"I pray, let me receive a line or two from you, that I may dispose of myself accordingly. My very humble service to Mrs. Swanley."

"*November 7th.*

"By the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports:

Instructions for Captain William Batten, Vice-Admiral and Commander-in-chief of the Fleet, &c.

"Whereas a fleet is set forth to sea for the parliament's service in this winter's expedition, whereof we have given you our commission to be vice-admiral, according to an approbation of both houses of parliament in that behalf, These are therefore to require you, forthwith after the receipt hereof, to take the same into your charge; and also, as vice-admiral, to take into your charge the command in chief and direction of the said fleet. Of the number of ships and vessels, part of the said fleet, we have hereunto annexed a list, which you are to employ, with all possible advantage, for the service of the parliament. And particularly, you are to take care for protecting from injury and violence all ships and vessels trading under the parliament's obedience with merchandize, and for their convoy to the several ports to which they shall be respectively bound. You are to take care of defending, to your utmost power, all the ports under the parliament's obedience, especially such as shall be besieged, straightened, or otherwise endangered by the enemy. You are upon all occasions, as you shall be able, to maintain the kingdom's

sovereignty and regality in the seas. You are, as much as in you lies, to prevent all supplies to the enemy from foreign parts, and all trade from the enemy; for your more particular direction wherein we refer you to our general instructions herewith sent. You are to take order, from time to time, that such of the ships as you shall find most convenient do ply forth at sea for the better defence of the merchants in their way of trade, the surprisal of all vessels employed against the parliament, and the prevention of all foreign force from landing in any of his majesty's dominions; and you are to cause fit vessels to ply to and again before such ports and places in foreign parts where you shall hear of any supplies preparing to be at any time sent over to the prejudice of the parliament, or for the assistance of the rebels in Ireland. And you are to use your utmost diligence, as also from time to time to give it in charge to the rest of the ships, for the looking after (when opportunity serves), and surprising, of all such Irish and Dunkirk men-of-war as are usually plying about the Land's-end and Wexford, which have much infested and prejudiced the trade of this kingdom, and still continue their piracies thereabouts, to the great damage and discouragement of the merchants. You are, from time to time, to hold correspondence with all the squadrons of the fleet; and to give this committee an account of your proceedings, and of the proceedings of the said other ships and vessels, as there shall be opportunity and occasion. You are to issue to all the captains and commanders of the fleet, such general instructions for their directions in sailing as you shall think fittest for the advancement of the service. And because we are not able to give you particular instructions how to carry yourself in reference to the several emergencies that shall fall out, you are, in all such cases, to proceed in such sort as may be most for the parliament's service. And for the premises, this shall be your warrant. Dated at Westminster, 7th November, 1646."

"*List of Ships appointed for the Winter Guard*, 1646, 1647.

Leopard, Captain Batten, vice-admiral and commander-in-chief.

Lyon, Richard Swanley.
Entrance, John Crowther.
Swallow, Wm. Somaster.
Mary Rose, Phineas Pett.
Expedition, Sir Geo. Ascue.
Providence, John Stansby.
John, Wm. Swanley.
Warwick frigate, Jas. Peacock.
Globe, Richard Willoughby.
Adventure, Thomas Beddall.
Nonsuch, Wm. Thomas.
Assurance, Wm. Penn.
Hector, Edw. Elliot.
Crescent, John Edwin.
Swan, Rob. Clarke.
10*th Whelp*, Wm. Lawrence.
Cygnet, Abr. Wheeler.
President, Jo. Pilgrim.
Hind, Arth. Yong.
Star, Rob. Constable.
Greyhound, Jo. Coppin.
Rosebuck, And. Woodward.
Dove pink, Wm. Hazard.
Kentish frigate, Jo. Mildmay.
Robert, Wm. Rew.
Welcome pink, Jo. Green.
Weymouth frigate, Jo. Pearce.
Hart frigate, Jo. Bowen.
Encrease, Rob. Moulton.
Trial pink, —— Brown.
Mary galliot, —— Branley.
Peter frigate.
William and John, } packet-boats.
Charles..... }
3 *Swans*.

MERCHANT-SHIPS.

Const. Warwick, Jo. Gilson.
Discovery, Jo. Wills.
Samuel, Ma. Woods.
Rebecca, Ste. Rich.
Charles frigate, Rob. Clarke.
Green-Fir, Thomas Farmer.
Rosebuck, Wm. Liston."

"*Instructions for Captain Richard Swanley, Admiral of the Irish Seas.*

Whereas we have issued our commission unto you, dated the 29th of October last, for your command as admiral of the Irish seas, and captain of his majesty's ship the *Lion*; These are to will and require you forthwith to repair aboard the said ship now at Portsmouth, and, after you have taken charge thereof, to sail, with the first opportunity of wind and weather, towards the Irish seas; and, at your coming there, to receive information from Capt. John Crowther, what ships are now in those seas belonging to your squadron, and how the same are disposed of. You are also to receive advertisement

from him touching the state of Ireland, that you may better be enabled to pursue and act what you shall find most conducing to the parliament's service in that kingdom. You are to give all the assistance you shall be able to the Lord Inchiquin, Lord Broghill, and to all other Protestants in Ireland that do or shall oppose the rebellion there, and put themselves into the protection of the parliament, and to the several towns in Ireland that are in possession of such persons. You are also, from time to time, to be assistant with the ships under your command to such service in Ireland as shall be required of you by Sir Thomas Wharton, Sir Robert King, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Robert Meredith, and Mr. Solway, commissioners employed in the service of Ireland, or any two of them, by writing under their, or any two of their, hands, until you shall receive other orders from this committee.[1] . . . . . You are to give your ships a charge, not to engage themselves under the command of any castle or fort within the power of any commander or governor in Ireland, that are disaffected to the parliament. You are to contribute your best endeavours, from time to time as there shall be occasion, for the convoying of all ships and vessels, wherein any soldiers shall be embarked, to the ports in Ireland that are in the parliament's obedience, from Bristol, West Chester, Holyhead, Liverpool, Minehead, and the ports adjacent, for the reducing of that kingdom. You are, from time to time, to give an account of your proceedings, and the proceedings of the ships of your squadron, by all opportunities, to this committee. For the further management of which service, we refer you to our general instruction herewith delivered you. And for the premises, this shall be your warrant: this 7th November, 1646.

E. Pembroke, E. Warwick, Lord Dacre,
Mr. Holles, Mr. Lewes, Sir Ph. Stapleton."

[1] The passages here omitted, are a repetition of the instructions to Vice-Admiral Batten, relating to the protection of merchants.

"December 22d, 1646.

To Captain Swanley.

This committee having received notice that the Irish frigates, belonging to Wexford and Waterford in Ireland, do increase in number and strength, divers going lately from thence of 22, 18, and 16 guns a-piece, whereby the trade of all ships entering into and going out of the channel will be much interrupted if the same be not seasonably prevented; they having already done much mischief, not only by seizing divers vessels and goods of great value, but also by carrying away and detaining in prison many merchants and mariners, to the number of 150, whom they do expose to much hardship, and threaten to take away their lives; we have therefore thought fit to command Capt. Penn and Capt. Thomas, with the vessels under their command, to apply themselves to look after the said frigates, and to preserve the trade in those parts where they are more active, and, for that end, to ply about the Land's-end, Scilly, Wexford and Waterford rivers; whereof we thought it necessary to give you notice, that you may suffer the said vessels to prosecute the said service, without diverting them to other employments but in case of urgency, until you shall be satisfied that those parts are cleared of the said frigates; and, as you shall have occasion, you are to give further assistance to the effecting thereof by all opportunities; and so we rest

Your loving friends,

E. Warwick, Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Green,
Mr. Whitelock, Mr. Roll.

To our loving friend Capt. Swanley, Admiral of the Irish Seas, and Capt. of H. M.'s ship *Lion*."

"*Dec.* 31*st.*—On reading of a letter from the Lord Inchiquin to this committee, praying them to approve the disposal of two-thirds of a vessel of Waterford, taken as prize by Captain Penn, for relief of the parliament's garrisons in

Munster, and of some other letters of the same tenour from Captain Swanley, admiral of the Irish seas, and others; this committee conceive not fit to declare any approbation thereof (yet to pass it by, without reproof, in respect of the necessities of those garrisons), that the captains may not be encouraged to actions of like nature; lest, upon the taking and disposing of ships that shall not prove lawful prize, cause of complaint should happen, especially from foreign states. And a letter is to be written to Captain Swanley, to send the proofs and testimonies into the Admiralty Court, whereupon there may be a proceeding to judgment; as also a particular of the goods delivered to the use of the said garrisons, as aforesaid."

1647.

"*January* 12*th*, 1646-7.—A Spanish gentleman, named Don Juan de Urbina, being taken by Captain Penn, on the coast of Munster, in a prize that came out of Waterford, did this day attend the committee (together with Sr. Bernardo, agent for the ambassador of his majesty of Spain, representing the said ambassador), and desire that he might be set at liberty, being a person of quality: and being demanded several questions by the committee, he alleged, that he came from Bilboa, was bound to Flanders to be secretary to the governor thereof; that the ship wherein he was embarked was cast away about Waterford in Ireland, at the end of June last. That he had been at Kilkenny, Ross, and other parts of Ireland, but not at Dublin. That, having not any thing fit for Flanders, nor no means of passage thither, he had embarked himself for Bilboa in the *St. Patrick* of Waterford, which was after taken by Captain Penn, who did offer affronts to his person, stripping him naked, and putting him among the common mariners; for which he therefore desired satisfaction, and reparation in his honour. And for that Captain Crowther (vice-admiral of the Irish squadron) informed the committee, that the examinations taken by Captain Swanley concerning this gentleman are in the hands of Captain Lawrence, to whom the bringing of him hither was committed (without view whereof this committee thought not fit to discharge him), Sir Abraham Williams was therefore desired to lodge him in his house with respect, and to afford him diet and accommodation; and the usher was commanded to attend him, that so he may be secured until the said examinations shall be viewed; and the secretary is to send to Captain Lawrence, to attend this committee with the examinations upon Thursday next."

"Die Jovis, January 14th, 1646-7.

"This day the examinations taken before Capt. Swanley, concerning the Spanish gentleman, Juan de Urbina (commended last Tuesday to the civility of Sir Abraham Williams), were presented, and read; and forasmuch as there appeared no cause from thence, or any other matter before this committee, longer to detain him; Ordered, that he be delivered to Mr. Bernardo, agent to the Spanish ambassador, in pursuance of his excellency's desire in that behalf, communicated by the said Mr. Bernardo on Tuesday last."

Penn's account of this capture, in his journal, is very brief: "13*th December*, 1646, *Sunday*. About "eight of the clock in the morning we spied a sail, "to whom we gave chase; and about eleven we "came up with her, and took her; she belonging to "Waterford, and was called the *Patrick* thereof, of "burthen about 60 tuns, laden with hides, salmon, "and several other commodities, bound for Bilboa; "and had in her about 8 Spaniards, passengers."

It must appear very extraordinary to the reader, that Penn should have thus dealt with a Spanish gentleman who had done him no injury; and of whose existence he had no knowledge, until he found him accidentally on board the *St. Patrick*. Extraordinary as this proceeding may appear, it had nevertheless both a reasonable cause and object. At the very time that Penn captured the *St. Patrick*, his elder brother, George (who, as it has been already stated, was a merchant in Spain), was a prisoner in the hands of the Spanish Inquisition; under the tyranny of which tribunal he had been for three years enduring

the most rigorous imprisonment and severe bodily sufferings, besides confiscation of his property to a very large amount, in consequence of his having espoused a Roman Catholic lady of Antwerp, then under the Spanish domination, himself being accounted a heretic: his wife was forcibly taken from him, and married to another person, of her own communion, and himself cast into a loathsome dungeon. That outrage first took place in 1643, and his durance still continued. The unexpected capture of a Spaniard of rank, under these circumstances of his family, prompted Penn to regard the unhappy Urbina as a representative of the Spanish nation; and to repay to him a mollified portion of the severities and indignities which his brother was actually suffering at Seville. But, his object was not merely to make a Spaniard suffer for his brother; it was to do an act that should speak home to the Spanish government, and provoke a public notoriety of the outrage for which he could obtain no other mode of redress; and, for that purpose he selected, from among the captured Spaniards, him who was of the highest quality, to endure a vicarious chastisement for his nation. He did not apprehend severity of censure from his employers, when the motive of his conduct should be fully exposed; nor does any record of censure appear in the minutes of the council. It is probable, that the Spanish ambassador was told by that parliament, that the first and greater injury must be redressed, before the second and the inferior could be considered; and that the subject of the state of

England must receive due satisfaction, before any could be awarded to the subject of the crown of Spain, further than his liberation. This is rendered probable, by the instructions which were afterwards sent by the parliament, in 1650, to their admirals on the coast of Portugal, in which they say: "The par-"liament doth very much resent the imprisonment "of, and injuries aforesaid, done by the Portugals to "the merchants, seamen, and others, the well-affected "members of this commonwealth; and resolve, by "God's assistance, to have amends for the same."[1] Shortly after this event, George Penn was dismissed from the Inquisition; and it is not unreasonable to assume, that Urbina's report, on his return to Bilboa, of the fraternal retaliation exercised upon his person by Penn, determined the liberation of the brother. In a remonstrance presented by George Penn to Cromwell, when protector, his representations were attested, on oath, by twelve principal English merchants, factors at Seville and St. Lucar, as eye-witnesses of their truth. The displeasure under which his brother, William, fell with Cromwell, caused those representations to be disregarded; but, after the Restoration, George Penn was appointed by Charles II. resident envoy to the court of Spain, with authority to demand full satisfaction for his sufferings and losses: a sudden death, however, prevented him from deriving the benefit of that royal favour.[2] It may well be

[1] Additional Instructions to Col. Popham and Col. Blake, 13th July, 1650. THURLOE, vol. i. p. 155.

[2] See Appendix C, 1 and 2.

supposed, that this practical and domestic experience of the extent of papal tyranny, did not a little tend to sharpen Penn's zeal against the same tyranny exercised in Ireland, during his service on that coast, through the medium of Rinuccini, the papal representative in the rebel council at Kilkenny. At the same time, one cannot but admire the malignancy, or perhaps, more properly, the poetical justice of the star that brought the unfortunate Spaniard into contact with Penn; for, with every other captain in the service, he would have been perfectly safe.

"*Feb.* 2*d.*—Captain Penn hath taken four vessels going from the rebels at Waterford to France."

"4*th.*—A report was made from the Committee of the Admiralty, concerning the next summer fleet to be set forth, desiring the direction of both houses therein; and it was thereupon ordered, that 13 of the king's ships be made in readiness for the next summer's fleet, and 25 merchant-ships.

"Captain Crowther removed from the *Happy Entrance*, just come in, to the *Bonadventure*, fitted and ready for sea; and recommended by the committee to both houses of parliament for that ship, for the remainder of this winter's and the next summer's expedition; and to return in her to his former charge of vice-admiral of the Irish seas; having served the parliament with much diligence and fidelity in that employment."

"8*th.*—The list of the summer's fleet being given in; ordered, that the title be altered, and that, instead of 'a List of His Majesty's Ships,' it should be 'a List of the 'Parliament's Ships.'"

"9*th.*—On reading of a letter from Captain Thomas, captain of the *Nonsuch*, dated Jan. 7th, 1646-7, importing of his taking of a prize, 3d Jan., and that he lost the oppor-

tunity of taking more by want of a consort; that he took in her divers Irish prisoners, whom he reserved for redeeming those at Waterford; that five frigates were then come out of Waterford, whose design, with the help of two ships, he might frustrate, the pope's nuncio being embarked in one of them for Biscay, &c.: ordered, that the secretary give notice hereof by letter to Capt. Swanley, admiral of Ireland, and signify to him the committee's order, that he send Capt. Penn to associate with him, according to the committee's instructions about Christmas last."

"*26th.*—Resolved, that Captain Richard Willoughby, now captain of the *Globe*, being well recommended for his diligence, activity, and faithfulness, be put into the command of a better ship as soon as there shall be a vacancy; and particularly of the *Nonsuch* frigate, if Captain Thomas shall desire to relinquish it."

"On special recommendation from the committee of lords and commons for the Irish affairs, sitting at Derby House, letters and warrants to the following effect were issued to Capt. Swanley, Capt. Penn, and Capt. Thomas.

"Captain Penn,

"This committee hath received advertisement, that divers Irish rebels of quality, whose names are contained in a list here inclosed, with divers others not named, do intend, about the beginning of this month of March, to transport themselves, with all their wealth, in six vessels, intending a westerly course from Waterford to France, or some other place beyond the seas. The interception of them is of very great consequence; and, that shipping may be appointed to attend the same, is specially recommended to this committee from the committee of lords and commons at Derby House. We would therefore have you speedily to repair to the mouth of Waterford, and to continue plying thereabouts in such sort that no opportunity may be omitted for the effecting of this

service, being of such great importance. We have also written to Capt. Thomas to be assisting herein; and to Capt. Swanley, admiral of the Irish seas, to make further provision of shipping, if there shall be cause. And so we rest

Your very loving friends,

WARWICK, FR. DACRE, WM. LEWES,
JO. ROLL, A. BENCE.

To our loving friend Capt. William Penn,
captain of the *Assurance*."

"Also, instructions to Captain Crowther relative to the above."

"Die Martis, March 9th, 1646-7.

"*The Names of such Persons as are presented by the Committee of Lords and Commons for the Admiralty and Cinque Ports to the approbation of both Houses of Parliament, for Commanders of the Ships and Vessels (belonging to the Parliament as part of the Navy) that are appointed to be set forth in part of the next Summer's Fleet, being over and besides* 13 *Merchants' Ships, which, together with their Commanders, are already approved.*

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	
St. Andrew	783	270	50	Captain Wm. Batten, vice-admiral of the fleet.
Henrietta Maria	809	250	44	Rich. Owen, rear-admiral of the fleet.
Lion	600	170	45	Rich. Swanley, admiral of the Irish seas.
Garland.....	567	170	40	Henry Bethell.
Antelope	512	160	36	Sir George Ascue.
Bonadventure ...	557	170	36	John Crowther, vice-admiral of the Irish seas.
Entrance	539	160	40	John Bowden.
Leopard	515	160	43	Ben. Crandley.
Swallow	478	150	36	
Convertine	619	200	40	John Mann.
Mary Rose	321	100	28	Phineas Pett.

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	
Expedition	260	100	26	Joseph Jordan.
Providence	260	100	22	Jo. Stansby.
Nonsuch	400	120	34	Wm. Thomas.
Adventure	370	110	30	Tho. Beddall.
Assurance	350	110	30	Wm. Penn.
John	367	110	28	Wm. Swanley.
Fellowship	366	100	28	Jonas Reeve.
Globe.....	333	100	24	Rich. Willoughby.
Recovery	300	90	20	Rob. Dare.
Satisfaction	210	70	20	Rob. Moulton, jun.
President	220	80	26	Jo. Pilgrim.
Hector	266	80	22	Edw. Elliott.
Warwick frigate.	300	90	20	James Peacock.
Cygnet	233	70	18	Abr. Wheeler.
Star frigate	200	60	16	Jo. Lockier.
Crescent	167	50	14	Jo. Edwin.
Hind frigate	200	60	17	Ant. Yong.
Swan	200	60	12	Rob. Clarke.
Greyhound	120	50	12	Jo. Coppin.
Welcome pink...	133	50	14	Jo. Green.
Hart frigate.....	120	50	10	Jo. Bowen.
Weym. frigate ...	120	50	12	Jo. Peirce.
Nichodemus	110	45	10	Tho. Pacie.
Roebuck	110	45	14	Andrew Woodward.
Lilly	110	45	8	John Lambert.
Increase frigate .	133	40	14	Wm. Ledgard.
Peter frigate	133	40	10	Jo. Mildmay.
Pelican	133	40	10	Owen Cox.
Robert	133	40	12	Wm. Rew.
Dove pink	84	25	8	Wm. Hazard.
Humber ..... }	Dogger-boats for ketches			{ Rob. Nixon.
Priam ..... }	to serve the fleet.			{ Roger Laming."

"*Six Second-rate Ships ordered to be graved,*[1] *and fit to be set forth on any emergency, in case the Parliament shall give order in that behalf.*

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	
Triumph	776	300	50	Captain Rob. Moston.
Rainbow	731	240	44	Bryan Harrison.

[1] Appendix A. Sea Grammar, c. 2.

	Tons.	Men.	Guns.	
Unicorn	763	250	50	Peter Andrews.
Victory	721	260	44	Nat. Goodlad.
Swiftsure	746	260	46	Tho. Davis.
Charles	793	250	46	Walt. Mynar.

13 MERCHANT-SHIPS.

Const. Warwick.	320	96	26	Captain John Gilson.
Discovery	344	103	34	Jo. Wills.
Samuel	248	75	20	Matthew Wood.
Roebuck	260	78	20	Edw. West.
Anne Percy	250	75	22	Wm. Handcock.
Magdalen	185	56	16	Jo. Hosier.
Blessing	200	60	18	Tho. Wynold (Winnal, p. 183).
Wm. and Daniel	230	69	20	Tho. Clarke.
True Love	259	77	22	Jervis Coachman.
Sampson	252	75	20	Jo. Lyne.
Anne and Joyce.	300	90	26	Tho. Jones.
Jeremy	260	78	22	Jo. More.
Peregrine	247	73	20	Ben. Trenyman."

" *March* 19*th*. — Whereas this committee is informed, that the frigates now building for the state will be better winter ships to ride in the Downs than any two or three rank ships; and that if one of them be fitted for the vice-admiral, it will lessen the charge of the state, and advantage the service: ordered, that Peter Pett, senior, shipwright, do make one of the frigates, now by him building at Deptford, fit for the vice-admiral to go in for the winter, laying her 110 foot in the keel, or thereabouts, and 30 foot broad, or thereabouts; for which this shall be your warrant.

E. Warw., Lo. Dacre, Mr. Holles,
Sir Ph. Stapleton, Mr. Glyn."

" 23*d*. — The division of the fleet into squadrons agreed upon as followeth:

FOR THE DOWNS.

St. Andrew,	*Providence*,	*Robert*,
Entrance,	*Fellowship*,	*Roebuck*,
Leopard,	*Constant Warwick*,	*Nicholemus*,
Concertine,	*Jeremy*,	*William Ketch*,
Mary Rose,	*Greyhound*,	*Priam*, dogger-boat.

FOR THE WESTERN-GUARD.

Henrietta Maria,	*Hector*,	*Crescent*,
Garland,	*Adventure*,	*Hart*,
Antelope,	*Peter* frigate,	*Weymouth* frigate.
Swallow,	*Roebuck*, merchant,	
Expedition,	*Hunter*, ketch,	

FOR GUERNSEY.

Welcome pink,	*William and Daniel*,
Lilly frigate,	*Dove*.

FOR THE IRISH-GUARD.

Lion,	*Satisfaction*,	*True Love*,
Bonadventure,	*Increase*,	*Swan*,
Nonsuch,	*Discovery*,	*Anne and Joyce*,
Assurance,	*Samuel*,	*Anne Percy*,
John,	*Star*,	A ketch.
Recovery,	10th *Whelp*,	
Globe,	*Sampson*,	

FOR THE NORTH.

Warwick frigate, *Hind*, *Pelican*, *Peregrine*.

IRELAND FISHING-GUARD.

Magdalen, *Blessing*.

NORTH-SEA FISHING-GUARD.

President, *Cygnet*."

"26*th*. — Press warrants issued for the summer fleet. Protection given to one of the East India Company's ships ready for sea."

"*April 6th.*—Captain Willoughby to command the *Nonsuch:* his commission ordered to be signed."

"*8th.*—Captain Swanley ordered to direct, that the national Covenant should be tendered to all mariners in the Irish squadron; and that those who refuse to take it should be discharged the service: intelligence having been received, that several persons adverse to the parliament, and who had not taken the Covenant, are in some ships of the Irish fleet."

That celebrated Covenant, drawn up in 1643, contained the following article: "We shall, with the "same sincerity, reality, and constancy, in our seve- "ral vocations, endeavour, with our estates and lives, "mutually to preserve the rights of the parliament "and the liberties of the kingdom; and to preserve "and defend the king's majesty's person and autho- "rity, in the preservation and defence of the true "religion and liberties of the kingdom: that the "world may bear witness, with our consciences, of "our loyalty, and that we have no thoughts or in- "tentions to diminish his majesty's just power and "authority." This solemn clause, which was the echo of the oath the Navy had framed for themselves in their Protestation of 1642, presently lapsed into a mere formality of words in the minds of the politicians on land; but, in the minds of the seamen, it struck a deep and unperishing root: and, that durable and immovable effect, the evidence of which continually revealed itself, acted on the peaceless mind of the rising usurper, as the indelible spot of blood on Blue-beard's key, acted on the mind of that fabled tyrant; it excluded all prospect of ultimate stability and repose.

"*Letter to the Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, and Commanders of Squadrons.*

VICE-ADMIRAL,

This committee hath received notice, that the state is put to a very great charge occasioned by a late liberty taken by the commanders of the parliament ships and vessels, to salute each other when they meet at sea, or in port; we would therefore have you give it in charge to the commanders of all the vessels (belonging to the parliament) of your squadron, that they shoot not at the meeting of one another, save at the first of the voyage, when they meet, or come up with, the admiral, vice-admiral, or rear-admiral of the fleet; unless they shall be first saluted by some merchants' ships, in which case they are to answer one for three of the merchants', and three for five, and not to exceed that number. If any other shot be brought to account for salute, by the gunners of the respective ships and vessels, we have taken order with the officers of the ordnance, that the same shall not be allowed on their accounts.

WARWICK, FR. DACRE, GILES GREEN,
JO. LISLE, ALEX. BENCE.

From the Committee, April 8th, 1647.
To our loving friend, Capt. Wm. Batten, &c."

" *To Capt. William Penn.*

Whereas the vessel under your command is designed to continue for this summer's expedition in the Irish seas, as one of the Irish fleet; these are, therefore, to will and require you to take notice thereof, and from time to time to follow such orders and directions as you shall receive from the admiral or vice-admiral[1] of the Irish seas; improving your

[1] At this time, Penn wore the flag as rear-admiral of the Irish seas, by his admiral's appointment, unconfirmed, as yet, by the Committee for the Admiralty.

care for the protecting of trade, the defence of all merchants' ships passing to or from any of the parliament's ports, the securing of all vessels wherein any forces or provisions shall be embarked for the parliament's service, or relief of their friends in Ireland; as also, for surprising, scattering, and destroying of all frigates set forth by the Irish rebels, or other enemies of the parliament; or intended for the relief of the said rebels, or trading with, to, or from, any of the rebels' ports in Ireland. And you are, from time to time, to give an account of your proceedings to this committee, and the admiral of the Irish fleet. For your more particular direction in the managing of these services, we refer you to our general instructions. And, for the premises, this shall be your warrant. Dated this 8th April, 1647.

WARWICK, F. DACRE, G. GREEN,
JO. ROLL, ALEX. BENCE.

To our loving friend Capt. William Penn,
captain of the *Assurance* frigate."

"*April 29th.*—In consequence of a representation from the master, wardens, and company of chirurgeons, it is ordered; that the Committee of the Navy take special care, that no chirurgeon be admitted aboard any of the king's ships, without the approbation first had concerning his abilities from the company of chirurgeons; and, that all chests of medicines be by them filled and prepared, according to the ancient custom of the navy."

"*May 5th and 10th.*—Letters from the navy certify a fight near the Isle of Wight. A fleet of Swedes, consisting of 15 sail, most merchants, refused to lower their topsail, though called to by Captain Owen, the rear-admiral, which occasioned a fight. They told him, they had order from their mistress, Queen of Sweden, not to strike to any whatsoever. The Swedes had their admiral, vice-admiral, rear-admiral, and two other men-of-war, and some merchants bound for

Constantinople; but in the end, not only the merchant-ships forsook Captain Owen, but the two men-of-war drew back and left him. He lost one man, and had three wounded. The Swedes had much loss; their vice-admiral and rear-admiral had their colours shot down, and a great breach was made in the vice-admiral, with much other loss. The fight continued until night. Capt. Batten, the vice-admiral, relieved Captain Owen, and brought in the Swede's fleet to Portsmouth."[1]

"*7th.*—On the desire of divers captains of the fleet, and the information of Captain Batten, that the defect of snap-hances[2] in the fleet doth beget an inconvenience to the public service; ordered, that the officers of the ordnance do, for the time to come, cause one-third part of the musquets usually put aboard the several ships of the fleet to be reserved, and a like proportion of snap-hances to be put aboard in lieu thereof."

"*To Captain Batten, Vice-Admiral.*

CAPTAIN BATTEN,

We have received and considered of your several letters concerning the Swedish ships, and think fit, that the vice-admiral of the fleet by you brought into the Downes be no longer detained, and therefore would have you forthwith to discharge her; that she, with the rest of the same fleet, may proceed on their voyage home. Concerning this matter, you shall hear further from us, after a report to both houses, agreed upon this day, shall be presented. And so we rest, &c.

WARW., DU. NORTH., DEN. HOLLIS., WA. ERLE,
JO. ROLL.

May 7th, 1647."

[1] RUSHWORTH.

[2] "*Snap-haunce*, a (short) gun that strikes fire without a match."—(JAMIESON'S Etymol. Dict.) The musquet was at that time a long gun, fired by a match, and supported on a rest.

"Resolved, that this committee is of opinion, that the vice-admiral's and rear-admiral's proceedings, in order to the maintainance of this kingdom's sovereignty at sea, be approved of by both houses. Ordered, that this committee's proceedings and opinions in this matter be reported to both houses of parliament."

"11*th.*—Whereas Capt. William Penn, captain of the *Assurance* frigate, hath heretofore, while he was captain of the *Fellowship*, worn the flag as rear-admiral of the Irish fleet, and hath been an humble suitor that he may stand in the same relation in the frigate wherein he is now employed; resolved upon the question, that the said Captain Penn be rear-admiral of the Irish fleet, and do wear his flag in the *Assurance* frigate as rear-admiral. Nevertheless, no additional pay is to be claimed in respect thereof; nor is this to be urged in future as a precedent for drawing any increase of charge upon the state.

WARW., LO. DACRE, SIR W. ERLE, MR. ROLL,
MR. GREEN, MR. BENCE."

"18*th.*—In pursuance of an order of the 11th instant, a commission was this day signed for Capt. Penn's command of the *Assurance* frigate, and wearing the flag as rear-admiral of the Irish seas."

He received this commission on his arrival with a prize at Milford. "*May* 29*th.*—The admiral (he "says in his journal) delivered me a packet from "the Right Hon. the Committee of the Admiralty, "wherein was a commission for me to be rear-"admiral of Ireland, with new instructions; a letter "from my Lord of Warwick; one from the Commis-"sioners of the Navy; and another from Mr. Jessop." He acknowledged the Committee's packet, in the following letter of the 16th of June.

" *To the Commissioners for the Admiralty.*

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

Plying off and on between Waterford and Wexford, upon the 28th May last, I took a ship near unto the Salters, which but the evening before came out thence, and was going to Waterford to take in soldiers for France; where being then, by myself, and having made her uncapable of sending away alone (in regard of some shot made at her, ere I could take her), I brought her the next day into Milford, and delivered her to my admiral; where I then received instructions for the summer guard, and my orders from your lordships for the wearing of my flag, which, as I cannot but esteem as a high favour from your honours, so I hope, through my future endeavours, to labour in some measure to deserve it. At that time, my present expedition for the Irish coast again, would not permit me leisure to return your lordships my humble thanks; nor to inform your honours of my prize, and the condition of her, only by a line or two to Mr. Jessop, who I intreated to give an account thereof to your honours, which I presume he hath performed; in which respect, I shall not need to trouble your lordships again with any thing in that particular.

Two days after my coming out of Milford (with Captain Willoughby in my company), being got upon the Irish coast again, we met with the vice-admiral (and Captain Moulton), who took all of us with him into Greenold bay, before Wexford, where we found Captain Dare and Captain Ledgard. So, riding there all that day, the next day, in the morning, the vice-admiral commanded myself and Captain Willoughby to go ply off Waterford; himself with the rest tarrying there to block up that place, which hath ever since been performed by them.

My own frigate having been so long off the ground, and

grown so very foul, I was forced to go for Kinsale to wash and tallow (having had orders from my admiral), where I staid but four days. Having performed it; ere I got out again, and my admiral in the interim coming into Cork harbour, I received commands from him to come to him thither, where I received letters from him to the vice-admiral; and, in coming towards the eastward, met with Captain Willoughby, who delivered me a packet of the Lord Inchiquin's, requiring speed for England; so I came to-day into Greenold bay, to have delivered them to my vice-admiral for the more speedy conveyance, but, coming in, I find he hath been gone this six days for Dublin: here being only the *Satisfaction*, *Recovery*, and *Increase*, Regis, with the *Hunter* frigate, who last Monday took a Dutch pink as she came into the bay; one of about 200 tons, belonging to Brill, and called the *Orange-tree;* her lading deals (being an Irish prize took by a Wexford frigate to the northward, and was bound for Scotland, and now bringing home thither).

So, my vice-admiral being absent, and Capt. Dare having least victuals, I ordered him to spare the *Hunter* what provisions he could, and so have sent him, with the prize and packet, to Bristol, there to revictual; and with farther directions, that if there be any forces there, ready to come for Munster, staying for a convoy, (as I was informed there is, by Sir Percy Smith, governor of Youghall,) to see them safe over.

At my being with the admiral, I informed him of certain intelligence I had received by a friend that came lately out of the enemy's quarters, that, since our blocking up Waterford and Wexford, they both send in their prizes, and go in themselves to refit, to Galway and Limerick; so he intendeth (so soon as he can appoint some to supply my absence off Waterford) that I shall go to the westward, for prevention of them; which if I do, I assure your honours, there shall be nothing in care or endeavours omitted by me to do execution

on the enemy, of which none is more desirous to do the state, and your lordships, service, than

Your lordships' faithful and obedient servant,

Greenold Bay: *Assurance* frigate, Regis, June 16th, 1647. W. P.

To the Right Hon. the Committee of Lords and Commons for the High Admiralty, these humbly present."

"*June 5th.*—Ordered, that in regard of the present distractions, and to prevent the surprising or drawing of any the ships of the fleet at sea, or in harbour, out of the power of the parliament, the Committee of the Navy do take present course and special care, by all good ways and means that they can think of, to secure the magazine and stores of the navy in the several yards, together with the ships, belonging to the state, in harbour; and, that they forthwith write away letters to the commanders of all ships employed in the parliament's service at sea, as well on this coast as that of Ireland, that, in regard of those distempers, they be very careful that neither themselves, nor ships under their commands, be surprised or drawn out of the power and service of the parliament, under any pretences whatsoever; and that they do prevent, by all means, the taking up of any ships to be turned against the parliament. As also, to give their best assistance to all maritime garrisons who stand firm unto the parliament; and, upon all occasions, to give information to this committee of any preparations making in any place against the parliament.

E. Warw., Sir W. Erle, Mr. Green, Mr. Bond, Mr. Roll, Mr. Bence."

"*To Captain Batten, &c.*

Captain Batten,

You will receive, here inclosed, the copy of an order sent to the Commissioners of the Navy, from whom we presume you

will receive some letters, in pursuance of what is therein contained, the matter whereof we doubt not but you'll use your utmost care to see put in execution, the same being so necessary in these times of distemper; that, through want of caution and vigilancy, neither the ships may be surprised, nor the mariners deceived, upon any pretence whatsoever. And we are confident, that as the parliament hath always had a special regard to the payment of the mariners' wages at a rate above that used in former times, so they will continue faithful to their commanders; and that you will diligently observe their tempers, and improve all means to continue them in a condition of obedience and service to the parliament, who have intrusted them. And so we commend you to God's protection, resting

Your very loving friends,

From the Committee,
June 12th, 1647."

WARWICK, &c.

" The parliament," says Whitelock, " having con-
" quest and success after their own desires, yet are
" now miserably encumbered with the mutinousness
" of their army on one side, and with the petulancy
" of pamphlets, and with discontented petitions, on
" the other." I have not been able to discover the particular object to which this letter to Batten refers; but it plainly had relation to the general discontent that arose in the fleet, in consequence of the perfidious delivery of the king's person by the Scots to the commissioners of the parliament on the 6th of February, and of the treatment to which his majesty was subjected from the time he fell into their hands; and also, in consequence of the " licentious and " dangerous proceeding of the army, of choosing

"out two of each company and troop to be (says "Heath) their *adjutators*,[1] to draw up the sense of "the army, and to *assist* at the councils of war, "and advise therein, for the peace and safety of the "kingdom; even to such a saucy degree of strange "freedom, as to give their vote, and to put in their "spoke to any debate." From that measure of outrageous daring, they proceeded, on the 4th of June, by the secret instigation of Cromwell, to surprise and seize the king, then at Holdenby in the custody of the parliament's commissioners; professing, that their purpose in so doing was, "to remove "his majesty's person to the army, for his and their "security." This offensive and alarming power assumed by the army, quickened the anxiety of the navy for an accommodation with the king; and soon after produced that tumultuous crisis, in which a portion of the fleet seceded to the Prince of Wales, in Holland.

"*Aug. 17th.*—Letters to the vice-admiral, rear-admiral, and commanders of the Irish seas, to look out for, and surprising or destroying a frigate from St. Malo, carrying a considerable sum of money to the pope's nuncio, for the use of the rebels in Ireland, supposed for Kilkenny; it being a matter of great importance, as the affairs of Ireland stand, in

[1] Some writers of those times have written this word *adjutator*, and some *agitator*; Whitelock calls them *agents* or *agitators*. Heath calls them *adjutators*, and adds, adjutators or *agitators*. Clarendon and Hume call them *agitators*. I incline to think, that the original denomination was *adjutator*, corruptly formed on *adjutor* (assistant), and that *agitator* was a play on that word. Johnson shews no authority for the sense he assigns to *agitator*.

respect of the late overthrow given by the parliament's forces (under Inchiquin) to the rebels."

"*Die Martis, Sept. 14th*, 1647.

PRESENT,

E. Manchester,	Lord Howard,
Lord North,	Col. Rainborow,
Sir Henry Mildmay,	Mr. Rolle,
Mr. Martin,	Sir John Trevor.

"Captain Batten, vice-admiral of the fleet, attended the committee this day, and was desired to be present on Thursday next, in the afternoon."

"*September 16th.*

PRESENT,

Col. Finnes,	Sir Henry Mildmay,
Col. Martin,	Col. Rainborow,

Mr. Ashurst.

"Ordered, that Captain Batten, vice-admiral of the fleet, attend this committee to-morrow, at three in the afternoon, that some matters objected against him may be there imparted to him."

"*Die Veneris, Sept. 27th.*

PRESENT,

Sir Henry Mildmay,	Sir John Evelyn,
Sir H. Vane,	Col. Rainborow,

Mr. Martin.

"Captain Batten, vice-admiral of the fleet, attending according to an order of yesterday, did render up his commission; declaring, 'That as he had served the parliament's commands faithfully, so he shall still do, if they shall please to continue him in that charge; if otherwise, he will humbly submit to their pleasure.'

"Captain Batten, after the rendering of his commission, being desired to withdraw, and afterwards called in again, the committee did impart to him the reasons of their sending for him, to which he gave his answer; and being demanded

the cause of his rendering his commission, he declared, that it was not out of any discontent; adding, that if the state shall be pleased to employ him again, he is willing to serve them; if they shall please otherwise to dispose of that command, he shall be content to stay at home: and did withal deliver unto the committee a paper, containing several public services wherein he had been instrumental during his management of his late charge."

"Ordered, that in the list of commanders for the next winter's fleet, to be presented by this committee to the houses' approbation, a blank be left for the vice-admiral of the fleet, that it may be filled up with the name of such a person as the houses shall, in their wisdom, think fit to appoint to that charge; and, at the presenting of the list, the reasons of this committee sending for Captain Batten, as also his rendering of his commission, are to be communicated to the house."

"*Oct. 5th.*—Order to the commissioners of the navy for payment to Captain William Batten, as vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet for the summer's expedition, the sum of 40*s.* per diem, from the day of the *St. Andrew* being taken into pay, to that of her being paid off."

"*Die Martis, October 19th.*

PRESENT,

Sir Henry Vane, Sir John Trevor,
Mr. Rolle, Sir. W. Erle,
Col. Rainborow.

"This day, in pursuance of an approbation of both houses of parliament, several commissions for commanders in the fleet for this winter's expedition, were signed: viz. for Col. Rainborow, as vice-admiral and commander-in-chief of the fleet, and captain of his majesty's ship, the *Happy Entrance;* also, to Capt. William Penn, captain of the *Assurance* frigate, as rear-admiral of the Irish seas."

"*26th.*—The winter-fleet was this day disposed into squadrons.

FROM THE DOWNES TO THE LAND'S-END.

Happy Entrance, Col. Thomas Rainborow, Vice-Admiral: (the *Leopard* being ready, the committee recommend that the Vice-Admiral should go out in her for this winter's expedition, instead of the *Happy Entrance*).

Nonsuch, Rich. Willoughby.
Adventure, Tho. Beddall.
Mary Rose, Tho. Harrison.
Fellowship, Hen. Jervoise.
Hector, F. Penrose.
Warwick, Rich. Farmer.
10th Whelp, Wm. Brandley.
Greyhound, Jo. Coppin.
Hart frigate, Jo. Bowen.
Frigate at Woolwich, Ph. Pett.

IRISH SQUADRON.

Bonadventure, Jo. Crowther, V.-Ad.
Assurance, Wm. Penn, R.-Ad.
Providence, Jo. Mildmay.
President, Jo. Pilgrim.
Expedition, Jos. Jordan.
Swan frigate, Rob. Clark.
Star frigate, Jo. Taylor.
Increase, Wm. Ledgard.
Dragon, Ant. Young.
One of the frigates at Deptford.

NORTH COAST.

Deptford frigate, James Peacock.
Pellican, Owen Cox.

GUERNSEY.

Weymouth frigate, Jo. Perrie.
Robert, Wm. Rew."

" *To Capt. Crowther, Capt. Penn, &c., about the King.*

Notice being come this morning to both houses of parliament, that his majesty is withdrawn from Hampton Court (11th Nov.), in such sort that they know not as yet how he is disposed of; and lest some persons disaffected to the peace of the kingdom should prevail with him to pass beyond the seas (which would much obstruct those ways to a firm and settled peace that are now in agitation before the parliament); we do therefore (by virtue of a special command given us in charge) *pray* and require you to stop and search all ships, barks, boats, and other vessels whatsoever, which you shall meet with at sea. And in case you shall find on board any of them his majesty's person, you are to make stay of him, and of all with him, and of all other passengers whatsoever,

any pass whatsoever notwithstanding; giving the parliament or this committee an account of your proceedings. And so we rest

Your loving friends,

PEMBROKE, HENRY MILDMAY, &c."

"From the Committee, 12th Nov. 1647."

The wording of this instruction demonstrates, by the apologetic explanation to which it condescends, and the qualified style of command in which it is conveyed, the parliament's sense of the feeling and principle that prevailed in the navy towards the king's person; and also, their conviction of the necessity of maintaining in that service a persuasion, that a firm and settled peace with the king was no less the sincere object of the parliament's endeavours, than it was of the navy's hope and expectation. It is hardly necessary to state, that no opportunity was offered for acting on this instruction; as the king's progress was stayed as soon as he reached the coast of Hampshire, and himself conducted a prisoner to Carisbroke Castle, in the Isle of Wight.

"*Nov. 30th.*—This committee, considering the voluntary exchanging, or surrendering, of places by officers employed about the navy may be very inconvenient, both in respect of the contracts thereupon made betwixt the parties, and the discouragement that may be thereby given to other deserving officers who may expect advancement to better places when they fall, as a reward of their ancient and faithful service in the navy; Resolved upon the question, that such exchanges and surrenderings be not, in time to come, admitted."

1648.

"*March* 4*th*, 1647-8.—Three French ships taken by the parliament's ship under Captain Penn." (WHITELOCK.)

"*April* 14*th*.—Ordered, that Captain Penn be forthwith apprehended, and brought up in safe custody; and that the ship be stayed, and the goods seized.

"That it be referred to the Committee of the Admiralty and Cinque-Ports, to take care of the ship commanded by Captain Penn, and to nominate a successor."

"Same day.—Letters were received from Major Elsing, and other officers under Lord Inchiquin, which reported, that Lord Inchiquin had revolted from the parliament, and endeavoured to persuade his officers to do the same; that, upon the clause of the Covenant which speaks of his majesty being preserved in person, and of the privileges of parliament, he was determined to declare for the king, and against the pretended parliament at Westminster." Upon which, "the parliament revoked his powers, declared him to be a rebel and traitor to the parliament and kingdom of England, and ordered shipping to be speedily sent to the coast of Ireland."

I am unable to discover the cause of Penn's arrest; but, as his attachments were always to those whose affections leant towards the king's person, though not towards his proceedings or his advisers, it is probable, that his well-known intimacy with Inchiquin excited suspicions against him, at the moment of the secession of a nobleman so influential in Ireland. If this was the case, those suspicions were soon removed; for, in the following month, we find him again in his old command at sea. In fact, the naval commanders in general, considered their

professional charge as a trust from their country entirely distinct from all state contentions; and, keeping their eyes wholly and jealously fixed on foreign naval power, thought only of strenuously maintaining that of England, and preventing that of any other nation from taking advantage of our domestic broils. And, it was his assurance of the existence and powerful operation of this sentiment, that gave to Cromwell all the confidence he could ever venture to repose in the seamen.

"*May* 17, 1648.

List of the Fleet.

Reformation, Col. Thos. Rainborow, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet.
Guarland, Capt. Hen. Bethel, Rear-Admiral of the Fleet.
Concertine, Capt. John Man.
Lion, Sir George Ascue.
Bonaventure, Capt. John Crowther, Vice-Admiral of Ireland.
Swallow, Col. Edw. Popham.
Antelope, Capt. Edw. Hall.
Assurance, Capt. Wm. Penn, Rear-Admiral of Ireland.
Nonsuch, Capt. Rich. Willoughby.
Elizabeth, Capt. Jonas Reve.
Tyger, Capt. James Peacock.
Dragon, Capt. Anthony Young.
Phœnix, Capt. Owen Cox,
Adventure, Capt. Andrew Ball.
Providence, Capt. John Mildmay.
Expedition, Capt. Joseph Jordan.
Mary Rose, Capt. Thomas Harrison.
John, Capt. Edw. Miott.
Fellowship, Capt. Hen. Jervoise.
President, Capt. John Pilgrim.
Hector, Capt. Francis Penrose.
Warwick, Capt. John Greene.
Cignett, Capt. Abraham Wheeler.
Hind, Capt. Charles Solstentoll.
Star, Capt. John Tayler.
Tenth Whelp, Capt. Wm. Brandly.
Swan, Capt. Robert Clerk.
Crescent, Capt. John Edwyn.
Greyhound, Capt. John Coppin.
Hart, Capt. John Bowen.
Weymouth, John Pearse.
Nichodemus, Tho. Pacy.
Roebuck, Robert Nixon.
Lilly, John Lambert.
Increase, Wm. Ledgard.
Robert, Wm. Jenings.
Dove, Jacob Reynolds.
Hunter, Wm. Warren.
Truelove, John Sherwyn.
Satisfaction, Colonel Lidcott.
Recovery, Capt. John Bowen."

The displacement of Vice-Admiral Batten, and the appointment of Colonel Rainborow to command

the fleet in his stead, marked the triumph of the Independent, fanatical, and army faction,[1] over the Presbyterian party, which last included the navy; but, as much as that triumph was a cause of exultation to the former, so much was it one of indignation and lasting resentment to the latter.

"*Letter from Col. Rainborow, &c. to the Committee for the Admiralty and Cinque-Ports.*

Landguard-Fort, May 24, 1648.

May it please your Lordships;

The present distemper of this county (Kent) is such as hath put as sad a face on things as ever England saw; and it hath begot a distemper in the fleet, which I am confident, though something allayed at present, will be of as dangerous consequence as any one thing besides, if this gathering be not, by some means or other, speedily suppressed. That which is the greatest motive to the disturbance of the seamen is, that these parts are wholly for the king.—A line or two from your lordships, at this time, might be of great encouragement to many among us. Of all other things, this bearer will give your lordships a perfect account. I am, and shall be till death,

Your lordships' most humble and faithful servant,

THO. RAINBOROW."[2]

"The lords ordered nothing to be done on this "letter at present; but, two days after, on the 29th, "the Earl of Warwick informed the house, he had "received letters, which were sent him from some "officers in the navy, that they had displaced

[1] See note 2, page 96. [2] Parl. History, vol. xvii. p. 185.

"Colonel Rainborow from being vice-admiral." At the same time, "they sent to the Earl of Warwick to "take the command of them, and declared for king, "parliament, and covenant. The commons referred "this business to the committee of Derby House; "and, to follow the humours of the revolters (says "Whitelock), they voted, that the Earl of Warwick "should be lord high admiral of England, and forth-"with go to take care of the navy." And on the 1st of June, the lord mayor and common council of London acquainted the houses with a petition which had been committed to them, praying, "that Captain "Batten might be restored to the place of vice-"admiral at sea, as formerly." But, it was not merely to follow the humour of the revolters that the parliament so quickly replaced Warwick at the head of the fleet, who did not escape the suspicion of the Independents; "the action of the sea officers, in "putting out Rainborow,[1] made the parliament "afraid of a thorough revolt, if they did not stop it. "Those of them who wrote to the Earl of Warwick "about it, at the same time told him, that they had "chosen him for their admiral; which the houses "thought fit, by a public ordinance, to confirm, "and also gave him power to give indemnity to the "captains and mariners who had turned out the "other."[2] How deeply and powerfully the feelings

[1] This officer was murdered at Doncaster, in the month of October following. His name is variously written; I have given it as I find it in the MS books of the Council of State.

[2] Parl. Hist. ib. p. 190.

of the navy were excited, at this juncture, may be judged from the several following documents.

" *The Declaration of the Navy, with the Oath taken by all the officers and common men of the same: being the true copy of a Letter from the Officers of the Navy to the Commissioners; with their Resolutions upon turning out Col. Rainborow from being their commander.*

WORSHIPFUL, May 28th, 1648.

These are to certify you, that we the commanders and officers of the ship *Constant Reformation*, with the rest of the fleet, have secured the ships for the service of the king and parliament, and have refused to be under the command of Colonel Rainborow, by reason we conceive him to be a man not well affected to the king, parliament, and kingdom; and do hereby declare unto you, that we have unanimously joined with the Kentish gentlemen in their just petition to the parliament, to the purpose following; *videlicet*,

First, That the king's majesty, with all expedition, be admitted in safety and honour to treat with both houses of parliament.

Secondly, That the army now under the command of the Lord Fairfax be forthwith disbanded, their arrears being paid them.

Thirdly, That the known laws of the kingdom may be established and continued, whereby we ought to be governed and judged.

Fourthly, That the privileges of parliament and liberty of the subject be preserved.

And, to this purpose, we have sent our loving friend Captain Penrose, with a letter to the Earl of Warwick; and we are resolved to take in no commander whatsoever, but such as shall agree and correspond with us in this petition,

and shall resolve to live and die with us in behalf of king and parliament, which is the positive result of us.

We humbly desire your speedy answer.

Officers of the Constant Reformation.	*Officers of the* Swallow.
Tho. Lisle, Lieutenant.	Leonard Harris, Captain.
And. Mitchel, Boatswain.	Jo. London, Master.
James Allen, Gunner.	Nich. Lawrence, Lieut.
Tho. Best, Carpenter.	And. Jackson, Gunner.
	Jo. Short, Carpenter.

Signed also by the captains of the *Roebuck*, *Hinde*, and several other officers of these and other ships.

The Oath.

"We, the officers and common men belonging to his majesty's ships the *Constant Reformation*, the *Swallow*, the *Roebuck*, the *Hinde*, &c., do, in the presence of God and this company, freely and unconstrainedly declare, that we will, with our lives and fortunes, and to the utmost of our abilities, endeavour to maintain the glory of God; the purity of the religion which is most agreeable to the word of God; the honour, freedom, and preservation of his majesty; the privilege of parliament; and the liberty of the subject. So help me God!"

This declaration was followed, on the 17th June, with the following

"*Reasons the Navy give for their Resolution.*

1. The parliament, of late, grant commissions to the sea-commanders in their own names, leaving out the king.

2. Several land-men made sea-commanders.

3. The insufferable pride, ignorance, and insolency of Colonel Rainborow, the late vice-admiral, alienated the hearts of the seamen.

The seamen intend to send a message to the city of London, for their concurrence in a petition to the parliament for a personal treaty with his majesty; otherwise, they will block up the river, and keep them from provisions and all commerce.

(*MS. in the Br. Mus.*)

June 17th, 1648."

On the 21st of June, the several commanders of ships in and about London also published a declaration, in which they said: "It is humbly conceived "by us, that we are obliged and bound, according "to the Protestation, and solemn League and Cove- "nant, formerly taken by every of us, to maintain "and defend, with our lives, power, and estates, the "true reformed Protestant religion; his majesty's "royal person, honour, and estate; and also the "power and privileges of the parliament." And they pressed for "A personal treaty with his majesty, as "the only remedy for the present distempers of this "distressed kingdom, and reducing the ships re- "volted from their trust."

During this ferment, a portion of the fleet stationed in the Downs withdrew themselves from the rest; Batten renounced his obedience to the parliament, and passed over to the Prince of Wales, in Holland, with the seceding ships,[1] consisting of the following:

[1] All that Hume finds to relate of this important crisis, is merely this: "What seemed the most dangerous circumstance, the spirit of discontent had "seized the fleet. Seventeen ships, lying in the mouth of the river, declared "for the king; and putting Rainsborow, their admiral, ashore, sailed over to "Holland, where the Prince of Wales took the command of them."—Cap. 59.

	Tons.	Guns.	Men.
Constant Reformation ...	350	50	260
Convertine	650	40	170
Swallow	650	36	160
Antelope	600	36	160
Satisfaction	300	28	100
Constant Warwick	250	24	90
Blackmoor Lady	180	18	80
Hind	200	17	60
Crescent	80	15	70
Roebuck	70	15	60
Pelican	60	12	50
	3890	291	1260

The alarming state of the navy, and the resolute demands of the seamen for "a personal treaty with "the king, restored to the same freedom as he was "at Hampton Court;" in which demand they were supported by the Trinity House, and many other public bodies; at length compelled the parliament to open a treaty at Newport, in the Isle of Wight; and the king was allowed some enlargement from the close restraint in which he had hitherto been held in Carisbrook Castle. For, although there was a numerical majority in the commons desirous of treating suitably with the king, yet the minority, backed, or rather governed, by the army, counteracted, and at length defeated all their proceedings, by violence and intimidation. The appearance of a compliance, however, tended to restore and preserve order and subordination in that part of the navy which had not seceded; but, nothing operated so much, and so speedily, to complete that effect, as the Prince of Wales, on the 29th of August, imprudently presenting himself with the seceding ships on the English

coast, as a naval adversary, and summoning the Earl of Warwick (who, with the ships in the river, had effected a junction with the fleet from Portsmouth, and was come in presence of the prince's fleet) to take down his standard, and come under his royal highness's obedience; which summons, bespeaking defiance, and not authority, in that juncture, was firmly, but respectfully refused.

"*The Prince's summons to the Lord Admiral.*

CHARLES P. August 29, 1648.

His highness, the Prince of Wales, having observed a standard borne by that fleet which hath been some hours in view, doth require the admiral, or chief commander thereof, to take notice that his highness is present, and doth command him to take down the standard, and to come under his highness's obedience, for the settling the peace of his majesty's dominions; wherein, if his highness shall find a ready compliance, he doth engage himself not only to obtain the pardon of all such as shall now return to his majesty's obedience, but also to receive them into his favour and trust; and to continue them in employment, as persons who, by shewing their obedience to his highness's summons, declare their good affections to his majesty, and the peace of the kingdom."

"*The Lord Admiral's answer.*

From aboard the *St. George*,
August 29th, 1648.

May it please your Highness,

I am appointed, by both houses of the parliament of England, to be lord high-admiral of England, by which right I bear the standard, and shall, God willing, continue to bear it during the pleasure of the said houses, notwithstanding the opposition of any person whatsoever; and as for the settling

the peace of the kingdom, I must refer that to the wisdom of both houses, who, I conceive, are now in a fair way to effect it, if they be not therein disturbed; and this is what I can return to your highness by way of answer to your highness's paper, being

Your highness's most humble servant,

WARWICK."

"We had by this time (said the Earl in his letter "to the parliament) a very great experiment of the "mariners' affections.[1] Those aboard my ship ap- "plying themselves to prepare for fighting with the "greatest alacrity that ever I saw, there being not "one of them that discovered the least averseness to "engage, or unwillingness to lay down his life for "the enemy's reduction; which, as the captains in- "formed me, was likewise the general temper of the "rest of the fleet." The parliament had, in July, passed a vote, "authorising and requiring the Earl "of Warwick to fight with the revolted ships, or "any person or persons, of any condition or quality

[1] "A list of the parliament's fleet now in the Downs, and thereabouts, the 5th of September, 1648, under Robert, Earl of Warwick, lord high admiral.

St. George.	*Recovery.*
Unicorn.	*Greyhound.*
Lion.	*Tenth Whelp.*
Phœnix.	*Nichodemus.*
Nonsuch.	*Weymouth* pink.
Adventure.	*Litly.*
Tyger.	*Hart.*
Mary Rose.	*Robert.*
Providence.	*Hunter,*
Fellowship.	*Dogger-boat,* } ketches."
Hector.	*Dolphin,*

RUSHWORTH, vol. iii. p. 1255.

" whatsoever, that shall be upon the said ships, or " shall join with them, or shall any way oppose the " power and authority of parliament." In consequence of that order, the earl finding the prince's fleet at anchor off Helvoetsluys on the 19th Sept., in his turn summoned the admiral of the fleet to take down his standard, and the captains and mariners to render themselves; to which summons the prince, on the 22d, returned an answer, resenting the " strange " insolency" of the demand, and again requiring the earl to take down his standard, and the ships of his fleet to submit themselves to his royal highness's authority. To this answer, the earl and his council of war, three days after, sent the following notable reply.

" Aboard the *St. George*, at anchor off Goree, September 25th, 1648.

May it please your Highness,

We have had the honour to be acquainted with your highness's paper of the 22d of September, expressing your displeasure against that summons sent by the right honourable the Earl of Warwick, duly constituted lord high admiral of England, to the admiral, or chief commander of the fleet of English ships riding at Helvoetsluys; which, as it was advised and approved by us, among others, as his lordship's council of war, so, upon second thoughts, we cannot find it to contain either insolency or extravagancy, it tending to no other end but the returning those ships to the service of the king and kingdom, whose they are, from whom they have been perfidiously diverted and betrayed; and for their reduction whereunto, we shall not count the utmost improvement of our courage (which, blessed be God, will not be blunted with any treacherous reflections), nor the hazard of our lives, too dear

sacrifice; and to endeavour which, his lordship is, by the obligations of honour and duty, so much engaged.

We have considered of your highness's invitement of the officers and mariners of the fleet, to quit and exchange this service; which our and their hearts do, with the greatest indignation, disdain and abhor, as that which would be a sin against God, an injury to his majesty, a further disturbance of our native country's peace, and a violation of those impressions of honesty and duty which we owe to our consciences and trust; and so would render us truly unhappy, by really contributing to the destruction of the parliament, in whose preservation and honour your highness's interest, as well as the kingdom's, is so much concerned; and to prevent the further effusion of precious blood: Whose vast expences, with the true original thereof, we beseech your highness to lay sadly to your princely heart, and to make your serious application to those ways which may most directly conduce to a safe and well-grounded peace betwixt his majesty and the parliament, in order to which a treaty is now depending, and his majesty in condition of freedom, honour, and safety. In such ways, none shall with more cheerful, sincere, and humble affections, serve your highness, than,

Your highness's humble servants,

WARWICK,

ROBERT MOULTON,	OWEN COX,
FRANCIS PENROSE,	JOHN LAMBERT,
JOHN BROWN,	GEORGE ASCUE,
RICHARD HADDOCK,	ANDREW BALL,
RICHARD WILLOUGHBY,	JAMES PEACOCK,
THOMAS HARRISON,	WILLIAM BRADLEY,
JOHN MILDMAY,	RICHARD INGLE,
JAMES CONYERS,	JOHN PEARCE,
RICHARD JAMES,	THOMAS GREY,
ROBERT NIXON,	ROBERT BLACKLEACH."

In the meantime, Vice-Admiral Batten, on whom the Prince of Wales had conferred the honour of knighthood, published on his own behalf the following declaration.

"*A* DECLARATION *of Sir William Batten, late Vice-Admiral for the Parliament, concerning his Departure from London to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; for Satisfaction of all honest Seamen, and others whom it may concern.*

At London, printed in the year 1648.

I suppose it is not unknown to the greater part of the kingdom, how, for seven years, I have served the parliament. With what zeal and fidelity I obeyed their commands (while I was their vice-admiral, and held their commission), God, the searcher of all hearts, and themselves, can best testify. What benefit they received from my endeavours, becomes not me to mention; and (to do them right) themselves were still prompt enough to send their voted thanks, for my reducing the fleet in the Downs; for fetching in the *Swallow* and *Bonaventure;* for regaining Weymouth; for securing Lyme and Plymouth; for taking Hartford-west, Portland, Pendennis, and Scilly; for assisting Major-General Laugharne to rout the forces in Pembrokeshire; for relieving the Lord Inchiquin when Youghall was besieged; for repairing Deal Castle, with £600 of my own money; for building a fort at Plymouth with lime and stone, which cost me £500, whereof I never received but £200, and that (as the custom was) not without a sufficient bribe; with many other services, all which they cannot be more willing to forget than now I would have them.

But why, after all this, (when their work was done, and without any cause shewed,) I was displaced by a committee at the head-quarters at Putney, with the advice of the *adju-*

tators, I could never understand; nor why I was sent for up by land, as not to be honoured to come in with the ship; threatened (by that false man, Mr. Smith,) to have a charge drawn up against me, unless I would instantly lay down my commission; though nothing was objected, but my suffering some of the 11 members to go beyond the seas, when all of them had the Speaker's pass: this, and because I was not of the temper of the army, were judged sufficient to have me dismissed; and another, such another thrust in to be my successor, as, till then, I never imagined would be vice-admiral of a navy.

My commission thus surrendered, I was presently turned out of Deal Castle; and could not obtain leave for two nights longer, though my wife was then sick, and forced from her bed to lie at an ale-house. But, how this wrought upon my brother-seamen, I hope all my life I shall thankfully remember. They best knew what service I had done, and now beheld mine and their own reward; whereof they expressed so just resentment, when all those injuries offered to me were repayed to my new successor, whom they refused to come on board, sent him back to the shore, and bid him return to the place from whence he came; it being most reasonable that that man should hold no command, who openly professed himself to be a *leveller*.

This new vice-admiral was no sooner rejected, than letters came to me from several friends, that I would return to the ships; and the city of London (I heartily thank them) petitioned the parliament to restore me to my place; so that some who had been most keen against me, did now make fresh overtures of a commission (if I would embrace it). But I had resolved, no longer to serve those persons who (as his majesty himself told them) 'do change their principles with their 'successes;' and (to deal clearly with the world) I had engaged myself to His Highness the Prince of Wales, to accept no commission but such as his highness should please

to allow me, though this, I presume, was then unknown, both to Derby-House and the head-quarters.

Now, (according to their custom) they began to make me a delinquent; and that most unworthy man, Sir Henry Mildmay, accused me 'for assisting the Earl of Norwich at 'Stratford-bridge;' and (as the Lord Say told me) 'for send-'ing horses to Sir Charles Lucas at Chelmesford;' which, whether true or false, was to them indifferent, since now they resolved to find me a malignant; whereof they have given their usual testimony, by violent breaking into my house, plundering my goods, and sequestering my estate, with no small incivilities to my wife and family: whereat I nothing wonder, since I see Sir Henry Mildmay's hand was to the warrant.

But why should I complain, when I see how they requited persons of the greatest eminency, that had done them best service; as, the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the Lord Inchiquin, Sir William Waller, Major-General Laugharne, Major-General Massey, Major-General Browne, Major-General Poynes, Col. Graves, Col. West, Col. Blake, Col. Fortiscue, and many others yet living, besides those already dead; but especially the city of London, whose lives and purse were so frankly exposed, that above fourscore times they had solemn 'thanks for their great affection to the parliament:' yet (after all their blood and coin) an army was brought in upon them, the towers, forts, and magazines seized, their militia and officers tane from them, their lord mayor and aldermen imprisoned; with all other marks of slavery from this ungrateful faction, who take no consideration but of their advantage: the world not having so ill subjects, nor worse masters.

I had not said this, if these injuries concerned only me in particular; but, such injustice hath been exercised on my profession, as if the seamen were none of the king's subjects, and were to expect no benefit by the laws of England: insomuch that, lately, when we expressed our desire for peace,

the Lord Say told us (in too much scorn), 'he would have 'us know, the parliament should not be governed by a com-'pany of sailors.' To say nothing of that malicious design, of bringing land-soldiers on board, to awe and enslave the seamen: which, to all sober men, is the most ridiculous tyranny ever yet imagined; and which, they will find, will not hastily be forgotten.

I confess, after the vacating of my commission, I began more seriously to examine whom I had served; for, till then, I was so diligent in performing their commands, that I took small leisure to examine their actions. But, when I remember we fought all this time to fetch the king to his parliament, and yet now it is made treason to offer to bring him thither; that some members were voted malignant for deserting the house, and others made delinquents for staying in it; that we took oaths to defend the king's person and authority, and now must have a government settled without him; and no addresses made to him, but plots and designs to poison and destroy him: these, and many other such horrible contradictions, cause me to abandon these enemies of peace, and to make my humble addresses to His Highness the Prince of Wales, whom (God is my witness) I come to serve faithfully, as becomes an honest man and a loyal subject; not drawn by hopes, either of honour or profit, as my friends and acquaintance (especially Captain Jordan, a person of known integrity and great skill in his profession, who also comes along with me upon the same resolutions) can sufficiently testify. And I humbly conceive (were nothing of conscience in it, yet, in common prudence) others are obliged to run the same course, it being impossible (considering his majesty's personal virtues, now evident to all the world; the large possession he hath in the hearts of his people of all his three kingdoms; his numerous progeny and allies;) that ever peace should be obtained till our king be restored.

But I would not be mistaken, as if I were now turned an

enemy to parliaments; for I profess, I shall, with the hazard of my life and fortunes, endeavour the welfare and being of free parliaments, provided it be with the just rights of the king and his subjects: that, by a personal treaty, or what other way it shall please God, the good known laws of England may be revived, by a firm and lasting peace.

WILLIAM BATTEN."[1]

"*A* DECLARATION *of the Officers and Company of Seamen aboard his Majesty's Ships, the* Constant Reformation, *the* Convertine, *the* Swallow, *the* Antelope, *the* Satisfaction, *the* Hynd, *the* Roebuck, *the* Crescent, *the* Pelican, *the* Blackmore Lady, *lately rescued for his Majesty's Service; with an Invitation to the rest of the Fleet, and their Brethren on Land, to join with them in their just undertakings.*

We have long expected, with great impatience, a happy end of our wasting divisions by means of a personal treaty, so often pressed by our brethren of Scotland, and earnestly desired by the generality of the kingdom; as appeareth by the late several petitions of the respective counties to that purpose. But we find, by sad experience, that the Independent party, instead of applying themselves to the settlement and composure of differences, according to their faith publicly given to the whole kingdom (but most shamefully violated in their proposals of the army) have seized into their hands, and garrisoned all the strong places of the kingdom, overrunning, disarming, and plundering the country, as if it were a conquered nation. And all this for no other cause, but that they in a humble way had manifested their desires of peace; and to have an end of those heavy pressures, which lay upon

[1] Br. Museum. Printed Catalogue, Art. BATTEN (Sir Wm.)

them by the arbitrary power of committees, and the unjust continuation of the excise and land taxes after the utter defeat of the king's party, from whose fines and compositions they drew money enough to have satisfied most parts of the debts of the kingdom. And seeing likewise, that the power and affairs of the navy were put into such hands as were not only enemies to the king and kingdom, but even to monarchy itself; that the style of commissions at sea were lately altered, leaving out the king's name, and mentioning only the parliament and army, which we understood to be a disherison of his majesty and his children; that we had no settled form of divine worship, no communions, little or no preaching on board but by illiterate and mechanic persons; that there was a design of introducing land-soldiers into every ship, to master and overawe the seamen; things so contrary to the ancient customs and orders of the sea, that we thought ourselves bound in conscience to do something for the recovery of our own rights, and re-establishment of religion, according to the word of God, and the covenant solemnly taken; the honour, preservation, and freedom of his majesty; the privileges of parliament, and the liberty of the subject; and not be made any longer the unhappy instrument of the misery of king and kingdom. At which time God put it into our minds, and encouraged our hearts, and strengthened our hands, to remove Colonel Rainborow from the command of the fleet; a man of most destructive principles both in religion and policy, and a known enemy to the peace and ancient government of this kingdom, which we have sworn to uphold and maintain with our lives and fortunes; desiring all honest seamen not to be deluded any longer with words, but, one and all, to join with us, and to put too their hands to so honest a work, the glory whereof (next under God) will be imputed to them; and the reward, no question, will be proportionable, both in this world, and the world to come. We have been long pressed in the king's name, though against his will and in-

terest; let us now do him some real service in this time of his great affliction, which God hath wonderfully enabled him to bear; and will doubtless, in His good time, restore him to us, and us to our known laws and liberties. Look upon the Prince of Wales, heir-apparent of the three crowns, and generalissimo under his royal father of all forces by sea and land; look upon the Duke of York, lord high admiral of England; princes of so much hope and forwardness, that the world hath not the like; extracting from the highest blood in Christendom; allied to, and befriended by, all foreign potentates; invited by the Scottish nation, and by the best part of ours, to the recovery of their own; who have had no hand in the miseries of this kingdom; and consider with yourselves, by what law of God or man, they can be thrust out of their just possessions into exile, there to live as it were upon the alms of strangers. Come in and join with us, and you shall want nothing; we have good ships, good hearts, good hands; and, which is worth all, God and the law on our side. And the Almighty Searcher of all hearts so prosper us in our undertakings, as we intend the advancement of His glory in the settlement of the true Protestant religion, according to His holy word; the honour, freedom, and just rights of his majesty; the confirmation of the privileges of parliament; and the liberty of the subject, by an equal and well-grounded peace.

(*July 8th.*)

Printed in Holland, and reprinted in London, 1648."

If we compare these several documents, which together declare the sentiments of the whole English navy of that day, in its two great divisions, it will be manifest, that the mind of that service had undergone no change of principle from the beginning of the troubles; that they all constantly and uniformly

looked to one and the same final object, though they sought it by contrary courses, namely, the reunion of the king and parliament; in direct and irreconcilable opposition to the ruling faction of the army. Those who followed the first impulse of that principle, made over their allegiance at once to the Prince of Wales; but, they who, with the same principle in their breast, exercised reflection and forethought, refrained from so precipitate a step. These acted under a sense of the sound principle of our constitution, afterwards so distinctly laid down by one of the brightest, if not the brightest state-luminary of our days; that, "However strong the arguments "might be in favour of the Prince of Wales assuming "the government, in case of the personal exercise "of the royal authority being prevented or inter-"rupted by infancy, sickness, infirmity, or other-"wise; neither the whole, nor any part of that au-"thority, could belong to him, during the life-time "of the sovereign, unless conferred by the houses "of parliament."[1] They foresaw, also, that which so speedily followed, that the Prince of Wales would be wholly unable to maintain a fleet; so that both his officers and men would either be constrained to seek, with disadvantage, a return to their former national service, or be driven to support themselves by piracy on the high seas. They were sensible, therefore, that the secession of the fleet must inflict a dangerous wound on the mother country, without

[1] Mr. Pitt's Speech in the House of Commons, on the 10th December, 1788.

advancing, in the smallest degree, the interest which the country had in the reinstatement of the king. And thus, while the spirit of Cromwell was rapidly gaining the supreme ascendant on shore, the navy was unequally divided between the spirits of Hampden and of Falkland; which two spirits, after a few years, became happily united, and blended into one.

"*Sept.* 11*th.*—A petition was presented to the house, intituled 'The humble petition or representation of well-affected masters and commanders of ships,' &c.; in which they set forth: 'That since the Hollander hath almost engrossed all the trade at sea, and now absolutely refuseth to grant convoys to the English, as heretofore; and forasmuch as thereby the trade is wholly destroyed, some merchants not daring, and others absolutely refusing, to ship their goods with them: That, therefore, the house would appoint four or five fitting ships, to serve as constant convoys to guard their shipping from Gravesend into the ports in the Netherlands and France, and return back with others homeward-bound; that being the constant order of the Hollander, by which means their trade is increased, and they mightily enriched: That the house will prevent that necessity, which must (if not removed) occasion an estrangement of their affection and assistance toward them: That, as soon as may be, *all monopolies and restraint of trade may be removed; and some way taken to prevent shipping of goods in foreign bottoms; to the end that trade again may be restored, and the glory of the nation preserved.*'"—*Several proceedings in Parliament, &c.* No. 268.

This intelligent suggestion, of the masters and commanders of ships, to the parliament in 1648, was the true foundation and origin of the famous Act of Navigation passed in 1651; which has been wholly

attributed by our historians to the profound sagacity, or the refined policy, of the legislators of that day: which Act, however, contributed to foment that jealousy of the Dutch, which so soon broke out into open war.

In the mean time, great dissensions had arisen in the seceding fleet. Sir Edward Nicholas, in a letter to the Marquess of Ormonde, dated Caen, Nov. 16-20, 1648, wrote thus: "It is advertised by good hands "from Holland, that the seamen of the prince's fleet "have been lately in a great mutiny against Batten "and Gordon, suspecting them to be Presbyterians, "and too well affected to the Londoners; where- "upon they have left the fleet, and are retired to "Rotterdam: but the seamen are still entire in their "affections to the king. The Lord Willoughby "(whom they likewise fancy not) hath also quit "them. Some say, they are very obstinate not to "be commanded by any in chief but by their own "lord admiral, the Duke of York. The Lord Hop- "ton, and Sir Edward Hyde, are lately sent to see "if they can satisfy them; the seamen having (it's "said) refused to be commanded by Prince Rupert, "who went to them upon Batten's leaving them."[1]

"They were very angry with Batten," says Clarendon, "and would have it treachery in him, that "the two fleets did not fight with each other, when "they were so near engaging in the river; which, "they said, they might well have done before the "wind changed, if he had not dissuaded the prince; "and, in this, the clamour of the seamen joined with

[1] CARTE's Collection, &c. vol. i. p. 188. 8vo.

" them. But, it was but clamour; for, most dispas-
" sionate men gave him a good testimony in that
" affair, and that he behaved himself like a skilful
" officer, and was very forward to fight whilst there
" was reason to effect it. The other reproach upon
" him, of passing by the ships which came from
" Portsmouth in the night, was not so well answered;
" for it was known, though he said that they were
" passed by, and out of reach, before he was informed
" of them, that he had notice time enough to have
" engaged them, and did decline it: which might
" reasonably enough have been done, out of appre-
" hension (besides the inconvenience of a night-
" engagement) that the noise of the conflict might
" have called the Earl of Warwick out of the river
" to their assistance, before they could have mastered
" them; there being two or three of the best ships
" of the royal navy, which would have made a very
" notable resistance. But, this being never urged by
" himself, and what would have been too much for
" him to have taken upon himself, it was imputed to
" his cowardice, of which the seamen, as well as the
" courtiers, accused him; though, as was generally
" thought, without reason, and only with prejudice
" to the man for what he had done before; and,
" because he was a man of a regular and orderly
" course of life and command, and of very few words,
" and less passion than at that time raised men to
" reputation in that province."[1]

[1] History, vol. iii. p. 166, 8vo. (See above, p. 75.)—It is but justice to Batten's character, to assume another motive for his avoiding a conflict with

"From the Hague, 2d Nov.—That the council, consisting of Prince Rupert, old Ruthvin, Lord Cottington, Lord Colepepper, Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Hopton, Sir Francis Dorrington, Secretary Lorey, sitting close, produced the making Prince Rupert admiral; Lord Garrett (or Welsh), vice-admiral. Upon which, Sir W. Batten came away, and Capt. Jordan, Capt. Hammond, Sir Henry Palmer, Capt. Bargrave; and the Lord Willoughby stays only to get away his things, for the seamen are in high mutiny, and keep away the goods of most of the rest. Some of the chief seamen say, they will not sail under Rupert, a foreign prince. Sir Edward Hyde, Lord Hopton, and the council, sit at Helvoetsluys: the seamen desert them daily; the chief that stay are very debauched, which produces duels every day."—*Proceedings in Parliament, &c.*

"*Nov. 17th.*—A letter this day came from the Earl of Warwick, intimating that several of the revolted ships (besides what you had before) are come in to him; as the *Satisfaction*, *Reformation*, the *Love*, the *Hind*, and others; and that many of the rest were a-sand, and in a sad condition.

Thus, this great schism of the fleet served only to enfeeble the parliament's naval strength for a time, without rendering any benefit to the king's cause. Batten obtained the prince's permission to return to England; also Jordan, and other officers who afterwards nobly distinguished themselves, both in the ensuing Dutch war under the parliament, and in that which took place after the Restoration. And it is probable that the principles prevailing in the naval service, which had been so well ascertained by

Warwick's fleet; namely, his personal regard for that admiral and all his commanders; and a repugnance to exhibit the example of the English navy imbuing their hands with each other's blood, when, at the same time, he well knew, that they all agreed in the same great ultimate principle.

the manifestation of their fundamental discordance with the political principles of the government-usurpers, made the prince, who was wholly unable to maintain them, feel secure beforehand of the affection of the seamen, should his prosperity return; and but little concerned, in his own mind, as to the service in which, during the interval, their professional abilities might be actually exercised.

Although the parliament passed a resolution, on the 28th of July, "To treat personally with the king "by a committee of both houses, with honour, free-"dom, and safety to his majesty;" although the treaty was begun on the 18th of September, and the parliament, on the 5th of December, voted the king's concessions "to be a ground for settling the peace "of the kingdom;" the hopeful prospect was suddenly and abruptly extinguished, by a "Remon-"strance" of the army, instigated by Cromwell, who had returned from Scotland; in the first article of which Remonstrance they had demanded of the house of commons, on the 28th Nov., "That the capital "and grand author of our troubles (intending the "king) may be brought to justice, for the treason, "blood, and mischief he is therein guilty of."[1]— "13*th Dec.* The parliament," says Evelyn, "now sat "up the whole night, and endeavoured to have con-"cluded the Isle of Wight treaty; but were surprised "by the rebel army, the members dispersed, and "great confusion every where, in expectation of what "would be next."

[1] Heath, p. 185.

Cromwell, availing himself of the recent ferment and division in the fleet, and of the increasing jealousy of the seamen towards the Dutch, who were giving continual evidence of a corresponding passion on their part, was now hastening to bring his own criminal purpose to its completion. His artifice procured from the Earl of Warwick's fleet in the Downs, on the 23d Dec., a Declaration of concurrence in the Remonstrance of the army. The majority of the house of commons, who had favoured the treaty with the king, being found intractable to Cromwell's nefarious views, were expelled and dispersed[1] by Cromwell's orders to Col. Pride;[2] leaving only in their seats that compliant and obsequious remnant of their body, which, in scorn and derision, obtained the opprobrious denomination of the *Rump*.[3] And, as the house of lords would not concur in the flagitious course which Cromwell was evidently pursuing, he set them

[1] "*29th January.*—The house voted, 'That such members as, on the 5th 'of December last, voted that the king's concessions were a ground of settling 'peace in this nation, should not be readmitted, but disabled to sit as members 'for the future.'"—WHITELOCK, p. 374.; HEATH, p. 226.

[2] Afterwards Sir Thomas, knighted by Cromwell (Ludlow says, with a faggot-stick); created Lord Pride, by the same.—(NOBLE, vol. i. pp. 417, 443.)

[3] "It will not be impertinent to the design of this Chronicle," says Heath, "to give an account of this name, since it was the frequentest word or by-word "of the times. The term was first given them by one Mr. Walker (who writ "the History of Independency), upon their secluding and debarring the house "to their fellow-members in 1648, when there remained a *fag-end* or *tail;* but "was almost abolished by the height and violence of their prosperity, nor was "heard of again until Richard Cromwell's parliament, when Major-General "Brown, repeating the many injuries he had received from that party or "juncto, in a scornful apostrophe, branded it with the note of infamy, *the "Rump*, which, upon their readmission again (in 1659), was their only appel-"lation, except among their own party."—HEATH, Chron. p. 422.

aside early in the ensuing month;[1] and brought his Rump-Parliament to pass unanimously a vote, "That "whatsoever is enacted and declared for law, by the "commons in parliament, hath the force of law; and "all the people of this nation are included thereby, "although the consent and concurrence of the king, "and house of peers, be not had thereto."

This crisis of our history, properly constitutes the period when civil war ceased, and rebellion commenced, equally against king and parliament, by the usurpation of Cromwell; after the termination of which rebellion and usurpation, the civil contest between the parliament and king was speedily and happily determined, as it were by a resumption, or rather conclusion, of the negotiation interrupted at Newport. But, all our writers have indiscriminately comprehended the whole compass of time, from the commencement of domestic hostility in 1642, to the Restoration in 1660, under the general heads, either of civil war, or of rebellion, according to their political partialities; thus obliterating the true distinction, which is obvious and manifest to the understanding in a close and cautious investigation of the transactions of the times. From the moment of the interruption of that negotiation, Cromwell's usurpation took place; and was, from that time, as firmly established in authority and power, as when he afterwards superadded to it the titular and insulting character of Protector.

[1] "6th *February*.—The house voted, that the house of peers in parliament "is useless, and dangerous, and ought to be abolished."—WHITELOCK, p. 377; HEATH, p. 226.

1649.

THIRTIETH OF JANUARY.—The event soon followed, which, though vaguely and doubtingly anticipated by the fears of many, no one could certainly foreknow, but those who could read into the dark heart of Cromwell; and which at once annihilated the navy's long-cherished hope, of a reconciliation between the parliament and the king. The determining cause of that (until our days, unexampled) catastrophe, we hold from the mouth of Cromwell; freely declared by himself, in the following year, to Lord Broghill, afterwards Earl of Orrery, whom a wayward fate had reluctantly brought under Cromwell's power and authority.

"After Waterford, Duncannon, and other places, "were taken (in 1650), Cromwell made Youghall "the head-quarters, from whence they marched out "several times to several places. And one time "especially, when Lord Broghill was riding, with "Cromwell on one side and Ireton on the other, "at the head of their army, they fell into discourse "about the late king's death. Cromwell declared, "that if the king had followed his own mind, and "had had trusty servants about him, he had fooled "them all. And further said, that once they had a "mind to have closed with him; but upon some-"thing that happened, they fell off from that design "again. My lord, finding Cromwell and Ireton in "good humour, and no other person being within

" hearing, asked them, if he might be so bold as to " desire an account; 1st, Why they would once " have closed with the king; and 2dly, Why they " did not? Cromwell very freely told him, he would " satisfy him in both his queries.

" The reason, says he, why we would once have " closed with the king, was this: We found, that " the Scots and the Presbyterians began to be more " powerful than we; and if they made up matters " with the king, we should have been left in the " lurch; therefore, we thought it best to prevent " them, by offering first to come in, upon any rea- " sonable conditions. But, while we were busied in " these thoughts, there came a letter from one of " our spies, who was of the king's bed-chamber, " which acquainted us, that, on that day, our final " doom was decreed; that he could not possibly tell " what it was, but we might find it out, if we could " intercept a letter, sent from the king to the queen, " wherein he declared what he would do. The letter, " he said, was sewed up in the skirt of a saddle; and " the bearer of it would come, with the saddle upon " his head, about ten of the clock that night, to the " Blue-Boar inn in Holborn, for there he was to take " horse, and go to Dover with it. This messenger " knew nothing of the letter in the saddle, but some " persons in Dover did. We were in Windsor when " we received this letter; and immediately upon the " receipt of it, Ireton and I resolved to take one " trusty fellow with us, and, with troopers' habits, " to go to the inn in Holborn; which accordingly

" we did, and set our man at the gate of the inn,
" where the wicket only was open, to let people in
" and out. Our man was to give us notice when
" any person came with a saddle, whilst we, in the
" disguise of common troopers, called for canns of
" beer, and continued drinking till about ten o'clock.
" The sentinel at the gate then gave notice, that
" the man with the saddle was come in. Upon this,
" we immediately arose; and as the man was leading
" out his horse saddled, came up to him with drawn
" swords, and told him, we were to search all that
" went in and out there; but, as he looked like an
" honest man, we would only search his saddle and
" so dismiss him. Upon that, we ungirt the saddle,
" and carried it into the stall where we had been
" drinking, and left the horseman with our sentinel.
" Then, ripping up one of the skirts of the saddle,
" there found the letter of which we had been in-
" formed; and having got it into our own hands,
" we delivered the saddle again to the man, telling
" him he was an honest man, and might go about
" his business. The man, not knowing what had
" been done, went away to Dover. As soon as we
" had the letter, we opened it; in which we found
" the king had acquainted the queen, that he was
" now courted by both the factions, the Scotch pres-
" byterian, and the army; and which bid fairest for
" him should have him, but he thought he should
" close with the Scots, sooner than the other.
" Upon this (added Cromwell) we took horse, and
" went to Windsor; and finding we were not likely
" to have any tolerable terms from the king, we

"immediately, from that time forward, resolved his "ruin."[1]

"If it must be *my* head, or the *king's*," said he (who had wantonly brought his own head to that guilty alternative), "can I hesitate which to choose?"[2]

The details of that royal tragedy have no relation to a naval biography, further than to record, that not one seaman was a party in it. Heath, who was a contemporary witness of its enaction, has left us in his chronicle, which embraces all those details, a minute catalogue of the name, quality, and description of every individual who acted as a member of the tribunal to which the royal life was abandoned. That catalogue consists, of one ecclesiastic, fourteen soldiers, eight lawyers, three citizens, one butcher, two brewers, one merchant, one chandler, two goldsmiths, one shopkeeper, two silkmen, two linendrapers, one woollen-draper, one shoemaker, one salter's apprentice, thirty-six civilians without profession or trade, in all 78 persons, out of 150 that had been nominated for that revolting function; but not one seaman. Colonel Deane (one of the fourteen soldiers enumerated), whom Cromwell afterwards sent to command and control the fleet, was at that time a stranger to the fleet, and the fleet to him. Clarendon, indeed, writing largely, calls him "a mere seaman, "grown from a common mariner to the reputation "of a bold and excellent officer;"[3] but Heath, who wrote with more minuteness and more knowledge

[1] Memoirs of Roger Earl of Orrery, by his chaplain, the Rev. Thomas Morrice; prefixed to a Collection of State Papers: fol. 1742.

[2] NOBLE's House of Cromwell, vol. i. p. 117. [3] Hist. vol. iii. p. 487.

of the truth, states, that "he was formerly a boy-
"man's servant at Ipswich; and when the war began
"was a matross in the train of artillery, and rose to
"the captain's command therein, and was famous at
"the siege of Exeter; and being a cross fellow, was
"thought fit to be one of Cromwell's complices to
"execute his plots against his sovereign's life."[1]

Of the year now opening, under such auspices, Whitelock has left us a most instructive description and testimony, drawn up from experience in the month of July of that year; but, which is well calculated to form a prologue to its commencement.

"This was a year of great perplexity and danger,
"as to the public affairs in the cause of the parlia-
"ment. The public business stood on this foot:
"if the parliament had lost but one battle, all who
"were engaged with them had been in danger of
"ruin, as to their lives and fortunes; and though
"they gained many battles, yet their enemies still
"continued in power to raise fresh parties and new
"troubles against them. When they were all sub-
"dued, so that not one man appeared in arms for
"the king, yet many appeared against the parlia-
"ment; their own friends turned to be their enemies;
"those who fought against the king's party joined
"with the parliament, and they fought together
"against the cavaliers.

"When they (these) were subdued, then the
"same soldiers fought against their own masters and

[1] Chronicle, p. 196.

" fellow-soldiers; witness the agitators (*adjutators*),
" levellers, and mutineers. Those of the army, turned
" head against them from whom they had received
" their commissions to be an army, and bent their
" arms against those who had empowered them to
" bear arms: yet, God was still pleased to support
" the parliament, at least a considerable part of them;
" and to carry them through all the difficulties they
" met with, in relation to the common enemy, though
" great, numerous, and powerful, and in relation to
" particular distempers and insurrections from that
" of their own party.

" We may from hence take notice of the vast
" hazard men undergo, by engaging in such affairs as
" these were; in which, the conquered were ruined,
" and the conquerors did thereby but create to
" themselves new troubles. Success raised in many
" of them a haughtiness of mind, and a roaming of
" imagination; every one almost of them endea-
" voured, or expected, to have his private fancy to be
" put in action, and to be little less than princes.
" To effect something dreamed on to this purpose,
" many wits were working; some were for one thing,
" some for another; all were violent in their way,
" and brought in to several parties and factions.

" The army was divided into levellers and dis-
" ciplined soldiers; the parliament was divided into
" royalists and republicans; the whole nation was
" divided into cavaliers and parliamentarians. The
" parliamentarians were again divided into presby-
" terians, independents, anabaptists, fifth-monarchy-

many and many other persuasions; and none but the most miserable of all cures for the sick state, no uniting of divisions, but by a greater calamity, the sword. When the king's party grew up to any strength, then those of the parliament party united together to oppose the king's; and when that work was done, then they fell at variance among themselves.

"Thus we find it was, by the precedent story; and thus we shall find it to continue, if God give me life and opportunity to continue this story: and this may be a sufficient argument, that there is neither safety nor discretion for any, who can avoid it, to engage in matters of this nature. We, who were engaged in those before mentioned, were unexperienced in these things, and in the consequences of them; slipt into them by degrees, and before many of us were aware of them; and being once in, were by little and little plunged further in, and knew not how to get out again. But, those that have the examples and the warnings of the age preceding, and have in part known and heard their fathers relate the deep miseries and calamities of the civil war in their days, and to both parties, will be inexcusable if ever they engage in such affairs; and, may they never see again the sad days which have been in those times whereof we read before!"

Of those internal proceedings, the navy were only distant and silent observers; but, they looked on, and made their remarks, much in unison with these of Whitelock.

In the month of February, the new council of state proceeded to the consideration of naval affairs, and passed the following resolutions:

"*Feb.* 20*th*, 1648-9.—That the commission under the great seal, making the Earl of Warwick lord high admiral, be called in."

"22*d*.—That the ships at sea in service of the state, shall only bear the red cross in a white flag.[1] That the

[1] This order, had relation to the following proclamation of the late king, in 1634.

"*A Proclamation prohibiting ships to carry the Union Flag, and appointing Flags for the ships of the subjects of England and Scotland.* 1634.

"We taking into our royal consideration, that it is meet for the honour "of our ships in our navy royal, and of such other ships as are or shall be "employed in our immediate service, that the same be by their flags distin- "guished from the ships of any other of our subjects, do hereby straightly pro- "hibit and forbid, that none of our subjects, of any of our nations and kingdoms, "shall from henceforth presume to carry the Union Flag in the main-top, or "other parts of their ships, that is, Saint George his Cross and Saint Andrew's "Cross joined together, upon pain of our high displeasure; but, that the same "Union Flag be still reserved as an ornament proper for our own ships, and "ships in our immediate service, and none other.

"And likewise, our further will and pleasure is; that all the other ships of "our subjects of England or South Britain, bearing flags, shall from hence- "forth carry the Red Cross, commonly called Saint George his Cross, as of old "time hath been used; and also, that all the other ships of our subjects of "Scotland, shall from henceforth carry the White Cross, commonly called "Saint Andrew's Cross; whereby the several shipping may be distinguished, "and we thereby the better discern the number and goodness of the same.

"Wherefore, we will and straightly command all our subjects, forthwith to "be conformable and obedient to this our order, as they will answer the con- "trary at their perils.

"Given at our Court at Greenwich, this fifth day of May,
"in the tenth year of our reign of England, Scotland,
"France, and Ireland.

"*Per ipsum Regem.*"

(*From Rymer's Fœdera.*)

The violent removal of the king, in whose crown only the two kingdoms had been united, necessarily dissolved the union *de facto;* and rendered this order, of the 22d February, a measure of course.

engravings upon the stern of the ships shall be the arms of England and Ireland in two scutcheons, as is used in the seals; and that a warrant be issued to the Commissioners of the Navy to see it put in execution with all speed.

"That it be reported to the house, that the act for repealing the ordinance by which Lord Warwick was appointed lord high admiral, and for putting the command at sea into commissioners by them appointed, be speedily dispatched."

"23*d.*—That a commission and instructions be prepared by to-morrow in the afternoon, for the authorising the three commissioners (Colonel Popham, Colonel Blake, and Colonel Deane) nominated to go to sea this summer, to take the command of the fleet."

"February 27th, 1648-9.

"By the council of state appointed by parliament.

"To Col. Edward Popham, Col. Robert Blake, and Col. Richard Deane, nominated and appointed by this present parliament to be Commissioners for the immediate ordering and commanding of the fleet now at sea, and which shall be set forth for the year ensuing, 1649.

"By virtue of an act of this present parliament, we do hereby commissionate you to hold, and execute by yourselves, or any two of you, the place of admiral and general of the said fleet. These are, therefore, to authorise and require you, or any two of you, forthwith to receive the said place of admiral and general of the said fleet into your charge, and to give you full power and authority by yourselves, or any two of you, to order, manage, and command the same, for the service and safety of this commonwealth; and, for that purpose, to give commissions, with the seal of the anchor, unto

the vice-admiral of the said fleet, the admiral of the Irish seas, and all other officers of the said fleet for the service aforesaid. As also, for the better ordering and government of the said fleet, to exercise and execute the power of martial law on all persons belonging to the said fleet under your command, according to such rules and articles as shall be given, allowed, or approved of for that purpose by the parliament, and according to the general customs and laws of the sea; and the same power to grant, under your, or any two of your hands and seals, to any officers of the said fleet commanding in chief any squadron, or part of the said fleet divided from you, and in your absence. And further, to appoint and empower any one of yourselves to command in chief the said fleet, or any part thereof, and exercise therein the power aforesaid, or any of them, upon such coast or north sea, and in such service, and for such time, for which he shall by the other two of you be so empowered; which one of you, being so empowered and appointed by the other two of you, shall and may command the said fleet, or any part thereof, as is last before expressed. And we do hereby will and require the vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the said fleet, as also the admiral of the Irish seas, and all other the subordinate captains, masters, officers, and mariners serving in any ship or vessel of the said fleet, for the time being, to be obedient to you in their several and respective places, and to all and every the commands which you, or any two of you, shall give them, or any of them, for the service of the parliament and this commonwealth, as holding and executing the said place of admiral and general of the said fleet, as aforesaid. And you likewise, and every one of you, to observe and follow such orders and directions as you herewith receive from this council of state, or shall hereafter from time to time receive from this parliament, or from the council for the service aforesaid: the said power to continue to the first day of March, 1649-50. And, for the present, this shall

be your warrant. Given under the Admiralty seal of this said council of state, this 27th day of February, 1648-9.

"Signed in the name, and by order, of the council of state appointed by authority of parliament."

"*March 2d.*—The house considered of the fidelity, good affection, and extraordinary services of Sir George Ascue; and ordered, that he should have command in the Irish seas, (where the only service at present is to be performed); and ordered him a ship proportionate to that great honour, and, at present, greatest service." (*Proceedings in Parliament*, &c.)

"*3d.*—Order for Sir George Ascue to command as admiral of the Irish seas, in the ship called the *St. George;* and for several others to be commanders of ships." (Captain Penn to be vice-admiral of the Irish seas, in the ship *Lion.*)

"*12th.*—That the generals at sea shall have power to put in such officers of the navy as are suspended, as they shall see cause."

"*20th.*—Lent, not to be observed by mariners, either at sea or in harbour."

"*31st.*—The generals at sea, recommend Captain Joseph Jordan[1] to command one of the great ships that are yet to be set out to sea; which is represented to the house."

"*June 5th*, 1649.—That a letter be written to the generals at sea, to desire them to send the ship *Charles* into the channel, to attend the service there; the council having thought fit, upon conference had with Col. Edward Popham, to dismiss the ships from blocking up Kinsale."

The temporary raising of the blockade of Kinsale, opened that port to Prince Rupert; who, having sailed

[1] The power given on the 12th, was with a view to restore this valuable officer to his country's service.

with the Prince of Wales's fleet from Holland, in January, in the *Constant Reformation*, accompanied by Sir John Minnes in the *Swallow*, and Sir R. Fielding in the *Convertine*,[1] and having made a predatory cruise of some months, entered the harbour of Kinsale in June. There he was presently blockaded, first by Sir George Ascue, afterwards by Blake and Deane, until the month of October, when, being reduced to great distress for provisions, by Cromwell's besieging army on land, and the blockading squadron by sea, he took the resolution of forcing his passage through Blake's fleet; and, with the loss of three ships, pursued his course to Lisbon, where he was favourably received by the King of Portugal, together with the fruits of his piracy on the English trade, gathered during his voyage.

"*Oct.* 25*th.*—Orders to use all possible expedition in getting out to sea the winter guard, in consequence of letters from the generals of the fleet."

"*Nov.* 15*th.*—That the forms of the medals which are now brought in to be given to the several mariners who have done good service this last summer, be approved of; viz. the arms of the Commonwealth on one side, with *Meruisti* written above it, and the picture of the house of commons on the other."

"*Dec.* 1*st.*—That a letter be written unto Col. Popham, and the like *mutatis mutandis* to Col. Blake and Col. Deane, to inclose unto them the informations which are sent hither, concerning the spoils which are made by Prince Rupert about the Straits; and to desire them to hold a serious consultation

[1] Carte's Collections, &c. 8vo. vol. i. p. 209.

thereupon, and to consider in what way some prevention may be given unto him; and to return their opinions therein to this council."

"3*d*.—That a letter be written to the generals at sea, to give them the state of the winter's fleet; and to desire them to think of taking out a squadron out of the winter-guard, to go to seek out Rupert's fleet."

"4*th*.—That Col. Blake shall be the person who shall be appointed to command the squadron which is to go towards Cadiz, to seek out Prince Rupert: viz.

The *Tyger*. *Tenth Whelp*.
John. *Signet*.
Constant Warwick.

"The Committee of the Admiralty to advise with some merchants, traders to the Straits, to know their opinions concerning the sending a fleet against Prince Rupert, now about the Straits."

"31*st*.—That Capt. Moulton do go vice-admiral to the fleet which is now to go out to the south."

1650.

"*Jan. 7th*, 1649-50.—That it be referred to the Committee of Admiralty, to examine the power that is in the office of lord high admiral for pressing of ships for service of the state, and whether it stands by law or custom; and if there be found any defect of power, the said Committee to consider of, and bring in, a draught of something to supply the want, to be offered from the council to the house, to be there passed."

"*24th.*—Letter to desire Col. Popham and Col. Blake to sail with the first opportunity; to inform them of the information received by the council, of the preparations of frigates by the enemies in Dunkirk for the infesting the seas; and to desire Col. Popham to have an eye to those seas, when Col. Blake's squadron is gone southward."

"*26th.*—That it be reported to the house, that this council having, in pursuance of their order, appointed some persons to go as agents from this Commonwealth to Spain and Portugal, to whom they are to prepare commissions for that service, which commissions have passed heretofore under the great seal; and considering that the style of all instruments passing under that seal is, by act of parliament, to be '*Custodes Libertatis Angliæ, Authoritate Parlamenti*,' in all legal transactions within the Commonwealth, but no style is appointed to be used to foreign states; therefore, the council hath written the letters which are signed by Mr. Speaker, and sent to the generals at sea, to be made use of to such princes upon whose coasts they shall come, or with whom they shall have occasion of any transactions, in the style '*Reipublicæ Anglicanæ Ordines*,' and conceive that style proper to be used in all foreign negotiation (unless the parliament think fit to appoint any other). And that, in case the parliament shall approve thereof, that they will give

order, that in all foreign negotiations the lords commissioners for the great seal may, from time to time, affix the great seal to such commissions as the council of state shall pass under the seal of the said council, for any persons to be as ambassadors, residents, or agents from this Commonwealth."

"*Feb.* 8*th.*—The generals of the fleet sent to, to come to the council, to confer with them about the ships of De Witt that are now in the water of Beaumorris."

"12*th.*—The generals of the fleet to prepare a list of the names of captains to command the next summer's fleet."

"13*th.*—Letter to the Commissioners of the Navy, to make all possible speed in setting out the summer's guard; to report any obstructions they may meet with; and give a weekly account of their proceedings, in setting forth the fleet, to this council."

"18*th.*—That the parliament be moved to declare, whether in the interpretation of the act for repealing the power formerly given to the lord high admiral, and transferring it to the council of state, it is their opinion, that the power of the lord high admiral and lord warden of the Cinque-Ports be in the council, that they may act accordingly."

"25*th.*—Merchants trading to Lisbon, to verify the statement of their losses sustained by Prince Rupert.

"A letter to be written to Col. Blake, inclosing a statement of the enemy's fleet at Lisbon, and desiring him to make all haste thither."

"*March* 2*d.*—The house order the increase of wages to the seamen.

"That Sir Henry Vane, Colonel Wanton, Mr. Challoner, Col. Popham, Col. Stapely, Col. Purefoy, Earl of Salisbury, Mr. Luke Robinson, or any three of them, be appointed a committee to carry on the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy, and to exercise the same powers as they have formerly done."

"*List of the Captains to command the Parliament Ships appointed for the next Summer's Service.*

		Men.
Resolution	Admiral: Wm. Wildey Capt...	500
St. Andrew	James Moulton, to carry her to his father, the vice-admiral	280
Rainbow	Col. Lidcott	260
Great Frigate at Woolwich.	Major Neh. Bourne	250
Great Frigate at Deptford ...	Capt. Wm. Penn	250
Paragon	Rob. Hackwell	260
Liberty	Edw. Hall	280
Lyon	Tho. Handon	190
Swiftsure	John Gilson	260
Garland	Lionel Lane	180
Phœnix	Wm. Brandley	150
Dragon	John Stoakes	150
Lesser Frigate at Deptford..	Ant. Young	150
Frigate at Portsmouth	John Taylor	150
Nonsuch	John Mildmay	150
Guinea frigate	Walter Wood...	150
Amity frigate	John Coppen	150
Satisfaction	John Lambert	100
Fellowship	Rob. Nixon	100
President	Tho. Sparling	80
Warwick frigate	Ant. Holden	80
Greyhound	George Deakin	80
Hector	John Curtisse	80
Concord	Samuel Howett	70
Mary fly-boat	Wm. Kendall	80
Star	Robert Sanders	70
Hind	John Sherwin	70
Hart	Philip Goose	60
Nicodemus	Tho. Vallis	50
Paradox	John Seaman	70
Mary frigate	James Pacy	60
Weymouth pink	Gabriel Sanders	60
Leopard's Whelp, alias *The Thomas*	Tho. Kesar	60
Elizabeth prize	Richard Stayner	50
Swan	Rob. Clerk	60
Peter of Waterford	John Cole	50
True-Love	John Veesey	30

		Men.
Lilly	Capt. Nich. Newberry	40
Warspight	Hen. Southwood	40
Falcon	Philip Holland[1]	36
May-Flower	Tho. Thompson	60
Margaret ketch	James Coppin	40
James, a prize at Kinsale	Hen. Mootom	100
Eagle	Clement Lamprier	36
Hare ketch	Rich. Pittock	30

MERCHANT-SHIPS.

The Magdalen	John Hosier	75
Exchange	Tho. Cheyney	80
Fortune	John Purvis	80
Adventure	Rob. Wyard	90
Hopeful Luke	Wm. Goodson	126
Supply	Tho. Flute	70
Hercules	Zachary Browne	150
America	Wm. Haddock	102
Lucy	Elias Drew	64
Great Lewis	—— Barker	111
James	Francis Allen	120
Providence	Rich. Hill	82
Rebecca	Nath. Nesfield	80
Unity	Wm. Coppin	80
Crescent	John Wadsworth	98
Elizabeth	John Butler	97
Merchant	John Bourne	98
Nicholas	Rob. Hudson	92
Trade's Increase	John Lawson	153
Peregrine	Rob. Dennis	106

"*April 6th.*—That one of the generals at sea do forthwith go over to the coast of Holland or Zealand, with such a squadron of ships as can be speedily and most conveniently gotten ready."

"*9th.*—This day the lord general (Fairfax), lord president, and Mr. Speaker, with many members of parliament and officers of the army,[1] went to Deptford to see the launching of two frigates; the one of 50, and the other 32 pieces

[1] It is observable, that officers of the navy are not here mentioned.

of ordnance. The ships' names were the *Fairfax* and the *President.*"—(*Proceedings in Parliament, &c.*)

"11*th.*—Notwithstanding the above order, of the 6th instant, the ships of the southern fleet, that are ready, are to sail to the point of their destination."

"12*th.*—That the eight ships hereafter named, shall be the only ships that are to go to the south; and the residue of the fleet intended formerly to go thither are to be employed in other parts; and it is hereby referred to the Committee for the Admiralty, to give orders to the Commissioners of the Navy for the speedy fitting out of the said ships.

The *Resolution.*	*America.*
Andrew.	*Great Lewis.*
Phœnix.	*Merchant.*
Satisfaction.	*Hercules.*

"That Col. Popham be desired to go forthwith to Portugal with a fleet to consist of eight ships; and that the Committee of the Admiralty do prepare instructions for him, and report them to this council, to be considered and passed."

"25*th.*—In consequence of a petition setting forth the spoils and depredations suffered by the traders to the Mediterranean, and other acts of piracy against the trade of this nation; the governors, deputy-governors, and assistants of the several trading companies, to meet, to confer and agree upon some means for the future safety of trade."

"27*th.*—Colonels Blake and Popham to take up what monies they may require for the service of the fleet, from any merchants or traders of this nation; which the council will see paid, according to their agreement."

"*Additional Instructions unto Col. Robert Blake, appointed General of the first Fleet that is gone to the southward.*

"1st. You shall remonstrate forthwith to the King of Portugal, that those ships now in his ports, *de facto* com-

manded by Prince Rupert, are of a nature not capable of neutrality; for that they were part of the navy of England, in the real and actual possession of the parliament, armed, equipped, and furnished by them in their own ports, the mariners being also their own servants, hired by them, and placed in those ships in the immediate service of the parliament, from which service, and from their duty, the said mariners have perfidiously apostatised and made defection, and as fugitives and renegadoes have run away with the said ships; and in the same, as pirates and sea-robbers, they have exercised and made depredations and spoils, and, by adding to their number the ships by them taken, were growing to a strength like to prove dangerous to the interruption, if not the destruction, of all trade and commerce. That they are such fugitives and renegadoes as have no place in the world which they can pretend to be their own; nor have any port of their own whither to carry their prizes, and where to make shew of any form of justice; but whatever they can, by rapine and depredations, take from any whomsoever, like so many thieves and pirates, they truck the same away where they can get admittance for that thievish trade, without bringing the same first to any adjudication, or making any such proceeding in courts of justice as the laws and customs of nations prescribe to be done by all fleets of states or princes, or any ships going to sea with lawful commissions; which being so, it is a certain rule, *Quod pirati et latrones qui civitatem non faciunt, jure gentium uti non possunt.* And being, as they are, *hostes humani generis*, may neither use the law of nations, nor are capable of protection from any prince.

"You shall signify the strict charge laid upon you by the Commonwealth of England, to surprise or destroy those revolted ships wherever you find them.

"That the Commonwealth of England expect from all their friends and allies all manner of aid and assistance in the prosecution and recovery of their own ships, part of their own

navy, from the hands of their own fugitives and piratical renegadoes; and, in particular, they look upon the King of Portugal as one from whom they expect all friendly offices, and doubt not but he will be far from countenancing such fugitive pirates by affording them any protection in his ports, or hindering the Commonwealth of England to seize upon their own ships, where they still find them in the hands of the same fugitives that perfidiously ran away with them.

"That, by the late treaty, as the commerce is free, as well by land as by sea, in all and singular the dominions, islands, havens, territories of the King of Portugal, and that without any safe conduct or other license, general or special, as well by land as by sea and fresh waters, as appears by the 2d article; and that they may carry in their ships, arms, victuals, &c. out of the ports of the said king, as in the 11th article; so is there not, through the whole treaty, any clause forbidding to repair, with a fleet or ships of war, into those havens or territories upon any just occasion, as the prosecution of fugitive pirates is most just; nor any clause, that leave should be asked upon such an occasion.

"That the Commonwealth of England do demand it in justice from the King of Portugal, for conservation of the amity betwixt them, to do them right, by permitting their general to take all manner of advantage for seizing upon the said revolted ships now in his ports, for the use of the Commonwealth of England, the true and undoubted proprietors; the rather, for that *ex defectu justiciæ tenentur reges; et licet non à priori faciendo, tamen ex posteriori negligendo facti sunt participes, ac præcipuè qui ad inhibenda latrocinia et piraticam pravitatem non adhibent ea quæ possunt et debent remedia.*

"And that, unless this justice be executed, you cannot tell how to answer it to the Commonwealth of England; the rather, for that, by the law, it is permitted to present such persons *etiam in alieno territorio.*

"You are to remonstrate to the King of Portugal, that we have received notice, that some message or intimation was delivered in his name, as if he had given order to his forts not to suffer any more English men-of-war to come into the bay of Weires. We cannot apprehend upon what ground that intimation should be given, or that message sent, as well for that there is no clause in the treaty to forbid the ships of war of the Commonwealth of England to come into that bay, especially where they have so just an occasion as this is, to fetch in their own ships out of the hands of those pirates; as also, for that the said king having first permitted those treacherous fugitive pirates to come in thither with those ships, part of the English navy, which they ran away withal. It were against all right and justice to deny the Commonwealth of England that liberty to come in with their ships of war, which the said king hath already given to these fugitives and pirates. And therefore you are, in the name of the Commonwealth of England, to desire the said king, that his ports may be open and free for them, and that all their ships of war may have liberty to come into the said bay of Weires, or any other his ports, and return as they shall find occasion.

"19th April, 1650."

"29*th*. — Letters to the commanders of the ports, to cause the arms of the late king to be taken down; and from all merchants' ships; and the generals at sea to see the same done to all the state's ships."

"*May* 6*th*.—That the company trading to the East Indies do take care, that as soon as any ship's company shall come to this town which brings the tidings of the injury offered to their trade by the Dutch, that they put the thing into way of proof and attestation in the Admiralty, to the end that complaint may be made thereof to the States."

"*8th.*—Letter to acquaint Col. Deane with the matter of fact, of the seizure of the English ships in France; and to desire him to send a messenger to the governor of Havre de Grace, or to any other port upon the French coast, to demand of him, or them, all such English ships as are seized in that nation, that they may be forthwith restored; and otherwise, to demand a reason for their so doing."

"*17th.*—The same instructions to be given to Col. Deane as to Col. Popham, for the seizing of French ships at sea, towards the restitution of the damage which hath been done to the English merchants by them."

"*July 3d.*—The Committee of the Admiralty to confer with Mr. Vane, concerning the present condition of the fleet riding at the bar of Lisbon (in consequence of letters and papers from the generals before Lisbon), to the end that they may take care for the speedy supplying of them with such things as are needful for the enabling of them to the service to which they are engaged."

"*Aug. 14th.*—Letters from the council of state to the Colonels Popham and Blake, declaring their ignorance of what those generals are doing, and of Rupert."

"*24th.*—Letter from Mr. Fisher, at Madrid, to the council of state, acquainting them that the merchants call for another and a stronger fleet to pursue Prince Rupert." (*THURLOE'S St. Ps.*)

"September 26th, 1650.

A List of the Ships and Commanders for the next Winter's Guard, besides the 20 Ships to continue towards the Southward.

FOR THE DOWNS, AND EAST COAST.

	Men.	Guns.
Speaker, Nehemiah Bourne	270	52
Foresight, Samuel Howett	150	34
Assistance, John Bourne	150	34
Paradox, Tho. Coule	70	14
Greyhound, Henry Southwood	80	18

TO ATTEND THE ARMY IN SCOTLAND.

	Men.	Guns.
Lyon, John Birkdell	180	40
Amity, John Coppin	150	34
Centurion frigate, John Lawson	150	34
Pelican frigate, Joseph Jordan	150	34
Mary fly-boat, Wm. Kendall	80	24
May-Flower, Tho. Thompson	60	16
Warwick frigate, Ant. Foulding	80	22
Recovery, Francis Allen	80	24
Swan, Tho. Keysar	60	20
Weymouth, Gabriel Sanders	60	16

FOR THE COAST OF IRELAND.

Portsmouth frigate, Wm. Brandley	150	34
Guinea frigate, Walter Wood	150	34
Dragon frigate, John Stoaks	150	34
Little President, Tho. Sparling	80	20
Hector, Edm. Curtis	80	23
Peter, Francis Kirby	50	10
True-Love, John Vessey	50	12
Hind, John Sherwin	70	18
Fellowship, Robert Nixon	100	28
Concord, Thomas Penrose	70	24

TO ATTEND THE WEST COAST.

Fairfax,[1] William Penn	250	50
Swiftsure, John Gilson	220	34
Nonsuch, John Mildmay	150	34
President frigate, Ant. Young	150	34
Advice frigate, George Deakins	150	34
Star frigate, Robert Sanders	70	16

TO THE NORTH COAST.

Reserve frigate, Robert Clark	150	34
Nicodemus, Thomas Valis	50	10
Mary frigate, James Pary	70	18
Hart frigate, John Seaman	60	10

[1] See *April 9th*, page 297.

AMONGST THE SANDS.

	Men.	Guns.
Elizabeth prize, Richard Steyner	40	8
Margaret ketch, James Coppin	40	6
Hare ketch, Richard Pittock	30	6
Falcon, Philip Holland	40	7

From the Commons' Journals, 1648—1651.

"*Dec. 24th.*—The council of state acknowledges Colonel Blake's success against Prince Rupert."

"Prince Rupert," says Heath, "having disen-
"gaged himself of the English fleet at Lisbon, being
"now at sea on the coast of Spain in the beginning
"of November, where, at Velos and Malaga, he had
"burnt five or six English ships; advice hereof was
"presently given to General Blake, then with the
"same fleet hovering about that shore; who, on the
"3d or 4th of November, with some of his said
"ships, first mastered the *Roebuck;* another of the
"prince's, named the *Black Prince*, of 44 guns, being
"ready to be boarded, ran on shore; and, on the
"5th of November, four more ran aground: the
"guns, tackles, and furniture of all which were then
"demanded of the King of Spain by Fisher, the par-
"liament's agent there, and were promised to be deli-
"vered, as a pledge of that respect the King of Spain
"was now manifesting to the authority of the Com-
"monwealth of England. Prince Rupert, with the
"*Reformation*, and his brother Prince Maurice, in the
"*Swallow*, by good intelligence avoiding the same
"fleet, sailed into the Adriatic sea; and, refreshing
"themselves awhile at Sicily (when Blake sailed to

"the Isle of Majorca, guessing that for their rendez
"vous), put to sea again, and took an English shi
"called the *Marmaduke*, laden, from Archangel i
"Russia to Leghorn, with caviar and hides, of grea
"value, and with her sailed into Toulon, and ther
"exposed her to sale, and took up their remainin
"part of winter in that station: in requital of whic
"entertainment, the parliament made seizure o
"several ships, both of war and merchandise, be
"longing to the French nation."[1]

[1] Chronicle, pp. 275, 276.

CHAPTER III.

1650—1652.

Service in the Mediterranean.

1650.

Penn's last letter during his command in the Irish fleet, that I have been able to discover, was written while he was vice-admiral on that station, in the *Lion*, and was addressed "to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland "(Cromwell), or the Lord President of Munster:" it is dated, the 4th of April, 1650.

"May it please your Excellence,

"The last of February we departed from Kinsale, choosing rather to proceed with half our proportion of beer, than to stay until the whole was brewed. The 12th of March, we, with Capt. Wood, arrived in this river, near Innis-Scuttery, where we found so many beefs and sheep as prolonged both our victualling four days; and had, the next day, furnished ourselves with three months' more upon the islands near Clare river, had the wind proved fair for us; for, before we could get up (which was the 14th, about noon), all the cattle were ferried over to the main. But, in recompense whereof, I have taken and split all their boats, from Clare river down to the river's mouth, on both sides; they being in number about twelve, and most of them of eight or ten tons a-piece. The main thing that induced me to this, was to hinder them

from transporting their cattle and goods from Munster side over to the county of Thomond, which was their daily custom before and since my arrival here. I did, four days since, write a letter to the inhabitants near the river on Thomond side, that if they would not pay me contribution, I would destroy them: the people are willing to pay, but they cannot be permitted by the Lord Inchiquin,[1] and the commissioners for the county. My letter was not sent with an intention to take contribution of them, but to make them employ a good part of their army to secure the river-sides, which I am confident they do, though to little purpose; for, having two little frigates, we can land twelve files of men, or more, twenty miles from the place they were at two hours before; which makes the people leave their habitations within a mile of the river.

On Thursday last, we burnt the mill and town of Killresh, and the town of Torbitt, where we killed them a few men, and took some boats; in which service (blessed be our good God) we had but one man hurt, which was with a musket-ball in the arm.

The 22d, Captain Nixon, commander of the *Fellowship*, arrived; and the 1st instant, Captain Howett, commander of the *Concord* (both from Plymouth), and brought with them as much victuals as will serve us all, viz. the *Lion*, *Guinea*, *Fellowship*, and *Concord*, two months a-piece complete from this day; before the expiration of which, I doubt not that we shall have a supply of shipping upon the coast to relieve us. If your Excellence knows the contrary, I humbly desire the bearer may be sent, a month or three weeks before the expiring of his victuals, to Plymouth, for another supply thereof. For, we are where relief cannot come to us, nor we go to it, without two several winds.

Upon the arrival of the *William* frigate, which I do daily

[1] See April 14th, 1648.

expect here, I intend to send her, and the *Guinea* frigate, to lie under the Isles of Aaron, to block up Galway by sea. The *Fellowship* (in which this comes) I have ordered to touch at Kinsale or Cork, and (if approved by your Excellence) to take the *Nicodemus* with her, and to block up Waterford by sea; myself and the *Concord* to remain here: not knowing better how to employ six ships, than to block up by sea three such considerable places; yet, I do humbly refer it to your Excellence's graver consideration. I pitch upon the *Fellowship* for Waterford, for that she is a ship of good defence, and well-cabled.

Not having any thing else to communicate unto your Excellence, I remain

Your most obedient servant,

WILLIAM PENN.

Aboard the *Lion*, near the Foynes, River Shannon,
4 Aprilis, 1650."

" In the key of Limerick there is a Fleming of 300 tons, two-thirds laden, and another belonging to the town, of 100 tons, likewise laden, and both bound out for France."[1]

" For the Special Affairs of the State.
To his Excellence the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, or to the
Lord President of Munster, these humbly present.
Haste! haste!"

From that tedious station, and hateful service, he was at length released at the end of this year. In the month of October, he received the following letter from General Deane.

[1] Original Letters and Papers of State, addressed to Oliver Cromwell, from 1649 to 1653, found among the Political Collections of Mr. John Milton. By John Nichols, jun. A.S.S. London, 1743: fol.

" *General Deane, one of the Generals of the Fleet, to Captain Penn.*

SIR,

I desire you (all former orders notwithstanding), on receipt hereof, to make your speedy repair forthwith into Portsmouth, with the *Fairfax* under your command; and there to careen and fit your said ship with all things wanting that you stand in need of, which I have written to Colonel Willoughby to get in a readiness against you come. Pray let me have intimation what is done herein, and then expect farther directions from,

Sir,

Your assured friend,

Whitehall, October 25th, 1650. RI. DEANE."

" For the Special Service of the State.
To Captain William Penn, Vice-Admiral of the Irish Squadron, and Captain of the ship *Fairfax*, riding in Torbay, these:
Haste, haste, haste!
post-haste!
RI. DEANE.
Oct. 25th, 1650, *past* 10 *at night.*"

In November, he was promoted to command the third fleet ordered to proceed to the southward. And here I shall observe, that in the following month, the Marquess of Ormonde, the king's lord lieutenant, appointing the Marquess of Clanricarde, his deputy, resolved to leave Ireland, and repair to the Duke of York, in France, according to his majesty's desire; and, " taking Lord Inchiquin, " and forty other officers and passengers, in his " frigate which the Duke of York had sent for him, " on the 9th of December he put to sea, leaving

"the infatuated Irish to their own destruction; and "though (says Warner) the end of his government "very properly puts a period to this book, yet I "cannot conclude it, nor take leave of the Marquess "of Ormonde's administration, without once more "holding him out as an example, in this selfish age, "to the great men of his own country, and of mine; "an example which few have ever equalled, which "hath been exceeded by none, and which is worthy "to be imitated by all."[1] Penn's political sentiments, and professional principles, were equally well known, both to Inchiquin and to Ormonde; and though they all now, severally and simultaneously, took their leave of Ireland as public adversaries, it was only to meet, at a later day, in bonds of private friendship and esteem.

"*The Council of State to General Blake.*

SIR,

We being informed that the Portugal's Brazil fleet is returning homeward, and that Rupert, with his piratical crew, is got abroad, we have thought fit to order Captain William Penn, with as many ships as at present could be fitted out, which are but four, to sail southward, both for the prevention of Rupert, as much as he is able with this strength, from doing further mischief on the good people of this nation; and for the surprisal or destruction of as many of the Portugal's fleet as he can make attempt on, in their return homeward from Brazil.

Your partners, Colonel Popham and Colonel Deane, have been ordered to give him commission to command in chief

[1] Vol. ii. p. 517—19.

for this service, with instructions accordingly, for his better regulation therein; and we have thought good hereby to desire you, if the said Captain Penn happily meet you on his voyage thither, that you will spare him out of your fleet as many well-sailing ships and frigates, for his assistance, as may be capable of staying about two months longer, and by any means be furnished with victuals accordingly. We conceive great or sluggish ships will be too great an hinderance to this service, by retarding the motions of those he hath already, which are all good sailers. We desire that you, with the rest of the fleet, will repair home with all the speed conveniently you may; that we may, upon conference with you, the better understand the state of affairs in those parts where you are, and have been; and also may give timely orders for fitting out those ships with you, against the next spring, if there shall be occasion for their service."[1]

"*Whitehall, Nov. 2d*, 1650."

On the 25th of the same month, Penn received a commission to command the *Fairfax*, not yet ready for sea, but completing at Deptford;[2] and also another commission, to command in chief a squadron of eight ships, officered by some of the most distinguished names in our early naval annals, viz.

Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Captains.
Fairfax	250	52	Wm. Penn, Vice-Ad.
Centurion	150	36	John Lawson.
Adventure	150	36	Andrew Ball.
Foresight	150	36	Samuel Howett.
Pelican	150	36	Joseph Jordan.
Assurance	150	36	Benjamin Blake.
Nonsuch.....	150	36	John Mildmay.
Star.....	80	22	Robert Sanders.

[1] Rymer's Fœdera, t. xx. p. 593; Thurloe, S. P. ii. p. 93.

[2] "*Fairfax*. Built at Deptford, 1649. Length of keel, 116 ft.; breadth by beam, 35·8; depth of hold, 14·6; depth of water, 17·6; tons, 789. War, men 380; guns 64."—(Reg. of R. Navy. Pepys' MSS. Bodl.)

The second of these gallant officers was afterwards the renowned Sir John Lawson, vice-admiral of England; who died of the wound he received in the victorious action of the 3d of June, 1665. Ball and Mildmay, whose names were subscribed to the letter of the council of war to the Prince of Wales, of the 25th of September, 1648, fell, honoured and lamented, in the victory of the 18th of February, 1653, the former as captain of the *Vanguard*, the latter of the *Triumph*. Howett, was rear-admiral of the red, Jordan (afterwards Sir Joseph Jordan), vice-admiral of the blue, and Sanders, commander of the *Ruby*, of 42 guns, in the victories of June and July of the same year; Benjamin Blake, was brother of the general. When we see, in the list of the squadrons assigned for the ensuing winter-guards, how differently these officers had been distributed only three months before, it is not unreasonable to suppose, that Penn was permitted to be a party in their selection.

This fleet was, shortly after, followed by a fourth, for the convoy of trade, under Captain Hall; an officer who had been appointed to the command of several detached squadrons.

Ships.	Men.	Guns.	Captains.
Triumph.....	300	52	Edward Hall, Vice-Ad.
Tiger	150	36	James Peacock.
Angel	150	30	William Rand.
Ant. Bonadventure ...	150	30	Walter Hopton.
Trade's Increase	160	44	William Jacob.
Lion	190	44	Jac. Birkdel.
Hopeful Luke	126	34	William Goodson.

Of these officers, Peacock distinguished himself on several occasions, and was afterwards captain of

the *Triumph*, and vice-admiral of the red, in the victories of 1653, in which he received a mortal wound; Goodson was rear-admiral of the blue on the same occasion; he was afterwards Penn's vice-admiral at the taking of Jamaica in 1655; and superseded Lawson as vice-admiral of England in 1657, when the latter officer was displaced by Cromwell for being engaged, with others, in a design against his Protectorate.

On the 30th of November, Penn sailed from Spithead in the *Centurion*, with the first division of his fleet. On the 17th of January, 1651, he made the island of St. Michael, in the Azores; where, on the 22d, he was joined by Lawson, who brought him out the *Fairfax;* and, after cruising for some weeks between the Western Islands, the Rock of Lisbon, and Cadiz, he entered the Mediterranean with his whole fleet on the 29th of March. Hume, in relating Blake's entrance into that sea three years later, in the Spanish war of 1654, solemnly observes: "no English "fleet, except during the Crusades, had ever before "sailed in those seas:" so little was Hume acquainted with our naval history. In this year, 1650, Blake had already passed the Straits, as far as Majorca, in pursuit of Prince Rupert; and Hall also passed them, with his convoy, a few days before they were entered by Penn; but Penn's was the first English fleet of war that had penetrated into those seas so far as to Malta,[1]

[1] I cannot write the name of Malta, without associating with it that of my late valued friend, Rear-Admiral Sir Alexander John Ball, Bart., its first English governor; to whom England primarily owes her possession of that majestic insular fortress, whose bastions now form a monument over his honoured remains. He died the 20th of October, 1809.

since the times of the Crusades: an island, which might well recall the memory of those chivalrous adventures. If, therefore, any degree of historical honour is derivable from the priority signified by Hume, it clearly pertains to Penn's squadron.

In that expedition, "he carried the then Long-"Parliament's flag, which was the St. George's cross "next the staff, and the Irish yellow harp, in a blue "field, next the flying part; and, off Cape Spartel, "hoisted his flag on a staff, at the main-top gallant-"mast-head."[1]

He prosecuted the pursuit of Prince Rupert with the utmost eagerness and activity; but, though the fleet made many and valuable prizes, his chase of Rupert proved unsuccessful. During his continuance in those seas, he firmly maintained the honour and dignity of his country. His plan for executing the service on which he was sent, was: to watch the entrance into the Straits for some time, collecting all the information he was able to procure; next, to sweep the coasts of Spain, Italy, Sicily, and Malta; to cross to the coast of Africa, leaving the eastern end of the Mediterranean, from whence there could be no escape; then to return to a fixed station in the bay of Gibraltar, and there await Rupert's attempt to escape westward through the Straits. Whilst watching the Straits'-mouth, after his return to that station, he received, on the 23d of September, the intelligence of the defeat of the Scottish army at

[1] See Appendix M.

the battle of Worcester, on the 3d of that month. His principles and feelings on that occasion are strongly shewn in his Journal; he regarded the contest at Worcester, in the separated positions of the two countries, as an effort to recover the crown of England by means of a *Scottish conquest of England*, and, as an Englishman, he rejoiced that his country had been saved from so great a dishonour.

Notwithstanding the vigilance with which he discharged the service in which he was engaged, so many opportunities presented themselves for eluding pursuit, that Rupert at length effected his escape into the Atlantic, which he traversed to prosecute his piracies in the West Indies. A very pertinent comment on this ill success, presents itself in the gallant and able Collingwood's representation of his own parallel case, in his unsuccessful pursuit of the French fleet under Admiral Ganteaume, in 1808.

In a letter to Lady Collingwood, dated *Ocean, off Toulon, May* 15, he said: "I have had labour and "anxiety enough to wear any creature to a thread. "Since the 23d of February, when I first heard of "the French coming into the Mediterranean, I have "been in constant pursuit of them, with little intelli- "gence; and what came to me was often very con- "tradictory, sometimes, I believe, fabricated for the "purpose of deception; so that, in all my pursuits, "I have arrived at places only to learn that they "were gone from thence. It has made me almost "crazy; and if I had not a very good constitution, "it would have worn me quite out; for I know that

" in England success is the only criterion by which " people judge, and to want that is always reckoned " a crime." And in a letter to Lord Radstock, dated, *Ocean, Gibraltar Bay, June* 18, he said: " I have had the most fatiguing and mortifying " cruise that ever any person experienced, in the " pursuit of those Frenchmen. It has worn me very " much; for I suffered an anxiety, of the pain of " which only those can judge who have been in " similar situations. My heart was bent on the de- " struction of that fleet; but I never got intelligence " where they really were, until they were out of " reach.—I know that success, or the want of it, " is the scale on which all men's merits are mea- " sured; and that the French flying from one end " of the Mediterranean to the other, will be imputed " to great stupidity and want of judgment by those " who are not capable of forming a true estimate of " circumstances; and as they compose a large ma- " jority, the unfortunate, however great their exer- " tion may have been, will suffer in the general " opinion."[1] Penn, however, was so fortunate as to be employed by those who were capable of forming a true estimate of circumstances, and who did not permit him to suffer, for his disappointment, in the general opinion.

The following are extracts from the Journal of his voyage to the southward.

[1] Correspondence, p. 382.

"*A* DIURNAL *for my Voyage to the* SOUTHWARD, *wherein I humbly implore the Lord for His direction, protection, and preservation; and that I may act nothing but what may tend to His glory, the good of His people, and the eternal comfort of my own soul, when this world shall be no more. In God's strength, not in my own, I humbly desire to proceed.*

(EXTRACTS.)

Nov. 25*th*, 1650, *Monday.* — I received a commission to command the *Centurion* frigate (the *Fairfax* not being ready to sail, but is to be brought after me by Captain John Lawson, who is then to command the *Centurion*). I likewise received another commission, to command in chief all the southern fleets appointed for this expedition. The ships at present ready to sail with me, in the *Centurion*, are the *Swiftsure*, Captain Anthony Houlding, commander; the *Pelican*, Captain Joseph Jordan, commander; the *Foresight*, Captain Samuel Howett, commander; the *Guinea* frigate, Captain Walter Wood, commander; in all, five sail. A second fleet is appointed to come to me about a month hence; the number or names are not known to me as yet, but time, I hope, by God's permission, will discover. Some other instructions I likewise received, concerning seizing of Portugal's ships, exchange of prisoners, &c., which would be too tedious for me to mention here.

30*th*, *Saturday.* — About noon (being a stiff gale at N.W. by N.) myself, with the fleet above mentioned, set sail from the Spithead, near Portsmouth.

Dec. 3*d*, *Tuesday.*—We stretched it up into Torbay, where I came to an anchor about three in the afternoon, and the rest presently after. I hanged out a flag of council in the mizen-

shrouds, and shot off a gun. The commanders came on board of me. I also called for the masters, to the end they might have instructions for keeping of company, which they had. I informed the commanders privately of my designs, or rather, the state's commands to me; and gave them instructions where to meet, if it should please God to disperse us. About midnight we weighed.

5*th*, *Thursday*.—The wind increasing, and being likely to be a very foul night, we all bore in for Falmouth, where we came to anchor a little past three.

13*th*, *Friday*.—I writ a letter to the generals, to let them know I was about to sail.

14*th*, *Saturday*.—We set this day apart, to seek the Lord for a blessing upon our designs. All the commanders, with several others of the officers and men, came on board me: our chaplain laid open the cause of our meeting, and made a large exposition on a Psalm; and then the ministers of the *Swiftsure*, *Foresight*, and *Pelican* preached: the Lord, in mercy, hear us and own us!

15*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—Very much wind, southerly, all the forenoon; in the afternoon the storm so increased that all our sheet-anchors were down, and much ado to hold us. I have not known more wind at S.S.E. Towards midnight it was a bitter storm, flying between the W.S.W. and W.N.W., and so continued all night. Very few or none of the ships but their anchors came home.

16*th*, *Monday*.—We had enough to do to moor all our ships: a stiff gale between the W. and W.N.W.

17*th*, *Tuesday*.—In the morning, I sent our master to search the Dutch and Hamburgers' ships, and found no cause of jealousy of any of them. I went ashore, and dined with the Lady Waller at Pendennis Castle: in the afternoon I came on board again.

19*th*, *Thursday*.—In the morning, being lecture-day at

Perin, I went to hear Mr. Peters[1] preach, and immediately came on board again.

20*th*, *Friday*.—A little after midnight the wind veered about to the S.E. and S.S.E., with rain and fog. Before daylight I fired a warning-piece for my fleet to weigh: before ten we were under sail: after many boards, we got about the point of the Lizard about eight at night: a fine gale at S.E. by E.

January 13*th*, 1650-1.—We took the *Nostra Senora* of Lisbon, come from Bahia in company of the fleet, wherein was (as supposed) 140 chests of sugar and tobacco.

17*th*, *Friday*.—About two in the morning we lay short of St. Michael's, for that we resolved to look in all the roads of the island as we went along.

20*th*, *Monday*.—About four in the afternoon we were near St. Michael's road, but could discern no ships. I sent for Capt. Jordan, and we agreed to stay until next day at night; and if Capt. Howett came not by that time (having lost him chasing in the night) we would, God permitting, steer away for the Terceiras.

21*st*, *Tuesday*.—By daylight we were close in by the road, but could see never a ship or vessel. We plied to and again off the island all day: about four we espied Captain Howett: a little after six he came up with us. We all bore away for the Terceiras.

22*d*, *Wednesday*.—About five in the morning we met with Capt. John Lawson in the *Fairfax*, and Capt. Robt. Sanders in the *Star* frigate. Capt. Lawson came on board me, and brought me two letters from the generals. I ordered Capt. Howett, Capt. Jordan, and Capt. Sanders, to ply off and on the road, while I and Capt. Lawson ran under the lee of the island to exchange ships, which we could not do there, in

[1] Hugh Peters, the celebrated and only clerical regicide, and Cromwell's chaplain; executed at Tyburn, in October 1660.

regard it blew hard, and there went a great sea; and, if we could not beat it up again by to-morrow at night, then to come to us. By three in the afternoon we had shifted, and each took possession of his own ship. About eight at night, having our main-topsail abroad, sprung our main-yard about the slings, but, blessed be God, not much: a very stiff gale all day and night at S.E. by E.

25th, Saturday.—We being open of the north side of the island, and the wind coming to the E.N.E., we bore away with what sail we could carry, and the rest after us, thinking to weather Graciosa and the other islands, and so to run off to sea; but so soon as we opened the south side of the island we had our old wind, and altogether as fierce; upon which we handed our sails, and having our fishes ready, clapped them on to the main-yard, and I do hope it is better than ever it was. Before four, our yard was up and our sails set, and plying to keep under the lee of the island; I apprehending it better to be where I might see any ships that should make to any of the islands, than to run myself to leeward of them all, and so, in all probability, be out of the way of all shipping; which was likewise the opinion of Capt. Jordan and Capt. Sanders, who were on board of me. Much wind all day and night at S.E., and S.E. by E.

Feb. 3d, Monday.—In the morning I sent for Capt. Jordan and Capt. Sanders, which was all that was by me; and, after consultation, it was agreed, that Capt. Jordan should sail to St. Michael's road, and proffer an exchange of the men we took in the Brazil-man, for Mr. Green and his company now prisoners there, and Mr. Cranes and his company at the Terceiras, and furnished him with orders how to act in that particular; and, if the wind would not permit him to come to me between this and to-morrow at night, then I would come to him on the south side of the island. At noon the island bore W. by S., twelve leagues off; then Capt. Jordan parted from us. A fresh gale at E., and E. by N., all day.

5th, Wednesday.—At eight in the morning the island bore W.N.W., ten leagues off. About nine, seeing no sail round about, I and the *Star* bore up to find Capt. Jordan. About four in the afternoon we chased a fisher-boat ashore to Villa Franca, which is a town near the east end of the island. I presently after gave chase to two sails which I saw to leeward, which proved to be Capt. Jordan, and a great fly-boat of near 400 tons, 24 guns, and 43 men, called the *Crown of France*, belonging to Havre-de-Grace: she came two days before from the Terceiras, where she took in 100 tons of corn, and was to take in at this island 300 tons more, upon the King of Portugal's account, &c., to deliver it at Tangier, near the Strait's mouth. Capt. Jordan's account of the exchange of the prisoners was, that he writ a letter, and sent a list of the Portugals' names (which we had taken in the Brazil-man) to the governor, by the master of a galliot-hoy that belongeth to Amsterdam, and now riding in the road lading of corn; but no answer was returned, save by one Williams, and Mr. Green (formerly master of the *John and Sarah* of London, who, with his men, are the prisoners we would ransom), who wrote, that the governor was in council about the exchange. When Captain Jordan stood in for the road, the castle made several shot at him; one whereof took place in his quarter, but (blessed be God) did no harm, save staved the minister's trunk, and spoiled some things that were not considerable; but Captain Jordan seeing a sail turning up for the road, steered off to him, which proved to be this *Crown of France;* and was now, when I met with him, standing in for the road, to know the governor's mind concerning the exchange of the prisoners. Captain Sanders kept close under the shore, and laid the galliot-hoy aboard, and brought her off to me about five in the afternoon, notwithstanding many dangerous shot made at him from the shore; but (blessed be our good God) none took place. I writ a letter to the governor, desiring to know his resolution speedily. I ordered

Captain Sanders to be near the shore in the morning, and my letter to be carried by the master of the galliot, whom I would not clear until I knew what the governor would do about the exchange.

7*th*, *Friday*.—Seeing it was impossible, as the wind was, and the business stood, to send any boat ashore to obtain an exchange of Mr. Green and his men, it was the opinion of Captain Jordan and Captain Sanders to bring the hoy off the rock (of Lisbon); and, when we met with more of our fleet, to hold a council about her: my reason is, till I know what my instructions, that are to come with the fleet, will lead me to do.

16*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—About five in the afternoon we saw, out of our main-top, seventeen sails, four leagues off to windward.

18*th*, *Tuesday*.—About four in the afternoon came up with these seventeen sails, which proved to be a fleet of Amsterdamers come from Cadiz, and bound home, with four or five States' men-of-war for their convoys. I sent my boat on board one of the States' men-of-war, the commander whereof related to my lieutenant, that he came from Cadiz nine days before, and that Colonel Blake, nor any of his fleet, was then there; and that he heard that Colonel Blake should be gone home himself with all his fleet, save four which he left upon the coast of Portugal.

21*st*, *Friday*.—About three in the afternoon I spoke with Captain Howett and Captain Ben. Blake. I presently sent Captain Howett to leeward to Cape Pitcher (*Espichel*), to bid Captain Lawson, Captain Ball, and Captain Jordan, who were thereabouts, to repair to me, W.S.W., five leagues off the rock, so soon as conveniently they could. Capt. Blake informed me, that the packet he brought from the generals for me, he left (as they had ordered him) with the victualler at Vigo.

23*d*, *Sabbath-day*.—About eight in the morning I spoke with Captain Ball, who brought me instructions from the

generals, to follow such orders as I should from time to time receive from General Blake (of which I was not sorry); and also gave me power (with the fleet under my command), as I saw occasion, to range up as high as Malaga or Gibraltar.

24th, Monday.—About six in the morning we espied a fleet of twelve sail, to whom we gave chase; and about ten spoke with them, who were Captain Hall in the *Triumph*, and Captain Peacock in the *Tiger*, with four merchant-men in the service, all a convoy to the *Sampson* of London, and other ships bound to several ports in the Straits. I went on board Captain Hall, who produced me an order he lately received from the generals of the fleet, signifying that they had designed me to follow Prince Rupert in the Straits; which order I having not received, we called a council of war, consisting of as many captains as their ships were near; the result of which was thus: that I, with all my squadron, save one, should forthwith repair for Cadiz, there to tallow and fit them with victuals, &c. against the victualler now at Vigo should come there; whom that one ship, set by, was to fetch, as also my packet (left there by Captain Blake) from the generals, in which 'tis supposed my orders to follow Prince Rupert are.

March 1st, Saturday.—About one, afternoon, I sent Captain Jordan with a letter to the governor of Cadiz, and another to the English consul. About four, Captain Jordan returned, and informed me, that the governor had sent a captain of one of his galleys to me, who dared not to come aboard by reason there went so great a sea; and that I might freely make use of the port to tallow, or furnish my squadron with any thing the place did afford. It blew so hard at S.W., and went so great a sea, that we could do nothing in order to our business.

2d, Sabbath-day.—About one afternoon, I received a very civil letter from the governor, by a commander of one of the king of Spain's galleys, who was accompanied by a gentleman

of Cadiz and an English merchant, by whom I had some intimation of two ships that did ride in the bay of Bulls, and had in them Frenchmen's goods: about three, the gentleman went on shore. After duty, I sent for the commanders of the frigates of my squadron, whom I ordered to set sail, and go to examine the ships within; and, as they found cause, to deal with them. I also sent word to Captain Hall, of the intelligence I had; who ordered Captain Peacock, commander of the *Tiger*, also to weigh, and examine them without.

3*d*, *Monday*. — About noon, our frigates came in, and brought with them three of the five ships that ride without, two whereof were brought in by my frigates; and one by the *Tiger*, which was presently cleared by Captain Hall. But I detained mine, as having a just cause therefore, finding on board each of them a French merchant, and he that had least had fifty packs of linen cloth, but had landed a great deal more which belonged to French merchants of St. Malo's, from whence these two came: the one was called *The Fortune of the Sea*, from Anchusen, a new frigate of about 80 lasts and 10 guns; the other, a fly-boat from Amsterdam, called the *St. Peter*, burthen 130 lasts and 16 guns; the merchant having first fled.

6*th*, *Thursday*. — About six morning, I went on board Captain Hall, upon which a council was called. All the afternoon was spent in giving satisfaction to the Dutch consul, about seizing of Holland ships; and I believe it was effectually done.

9*th*, *Sabbath-day*. — About four afternoon, here arrived Captain John Mildmay, commander of the *Nonsuch* frigate, who came from England, and brought me a letter from General Deane.

12*th*, *Wednesday*. — About ten morning, here arrived the *Assurance*, and Captain Taylor, commander of the *Unity of London*. By Captain Blake, I received instructions to pursue Prince Rupert.

14*th*, *Friday*.—I took out a portion of wheat out of the *Cæsar*, and sent it to the mill to be ground; intending to give our men a pudding in lieu of a piece of beef, to lengthen out our victuals.

26*th*, *Wednesday*.—I dispatched my packets to the state by Captain Birkdell (of the *Lion*), and gave order to our fleet to be ready to sail in the morning.

"*To the Lord President of the Council of State.*

My Lord,

Your honour might well expect to have heard from me long since, which, however, could not be; for, since I came from England, this was the first opportunity of conveyance. But by this I shall, as briefly as I may, render your honour an account of the most material passages occurring in the expedition.

The 20th of December, I, in the *Centurion*, with four ships more, set sail from Falmouth; and three days after the *Swiftsure* sprung a leak, so as we were constrained to return her, and the *Guinea* frigate in her company. So I, with three frigates, continued my course to the western islands, and about the time limited got sight of them; having before taken a Portugal vessel (hereafter mentioned), who came in a fleet of 63 sail from Brazil bound for Lisbon, and had, some weeks before we met her, been dispersed from them by storm, with the loss of masts and rudder; whom, by reason of her defectiveness, the seamen could not be induced to venture in, further than Vigo in Galicia; but since, I hear, (according to my private instructions to the master) arrived in England. By reports of those in her, and especially of an English seaman and prisoner, I collected (and since have understood) that the fleet was got into their port. Therefore, from this forward, I endeavoured to attain the rock of Lisbon; but by easterly winds was yet detained about the islands.

The 22d of January, I met and exchanged with Capt. Lawson for the *Fairfax;* he, with the *Star*, being come to the islands a day before. About this time we took a Frenchman of 400 tons, 22 guns, part laden with corn; as also a Flemish hoy or galliot, with the same lading. By the skipper whereof I was informed, that he lately spake with three Portugal ships near the islands, who were bound for Lisbon. Upon which intelligence, I committed the two vessels aforesaid to the convoy of the *Star* frigate, with orders to come away to the rock of Lisbon; and I, with the *Pelican* in company, (the *Centurion* and *Foresight* having lost us three days before in a storm), made all the sail we could for the rock, in hope to prevent and intercept them. But, after two or three days' sail, we met such contrary winds, that it was the 20th of February before we got sight of the said place.

February 21st, I met Capt. Blake, who told me he had left a packet for me at Vigo in Galicia, aboard of Capt. Taylor, a victualler; Capt. Mapleston, the other victualler, being brought by Capt. Ball, who, with Capt. Lawson and Capt. Jordan, were then near Cape Pitcher. Whereupon I presently sent Capt. Howett, who was with Capt. Blake, to the Cape aforesaid, for the other frigates to come to me.

But, before they could return, on the 24th of February, I met Capt. Hall, and his fleet; who shewed me a clause in his instructions, that I was appointed by the generals to pursue Rupert, and that it was supposed at London I was already about it: which, indeed, much troubled me, in regard I had never received the least intimation thereof. So, a council of war being called aboard the *Triumph*, Capt. Blake was ordered to fetch the victualler, and whatever else belonged to us, from Vigo, and come away to Cadiz, where we were now going to victual and fit out to proceed on the design.

Our departure from before Lisbon succeeded happily for them, for, during our stay, all ingress and egress was cut off, by our lying so near the port; and provisions being excessive

dear, our continuance before it would have starved them, there being no wheat to be had for money. And already we had seized more vessels than we had been days before it, a list whereof is here inserted; and I am confident, that in one month we should have taken as many as we could well have manned.

The 28th of February, Capt. Hall's squadron and mine arrived at Cadiz, where, on the 2d of March (upon intelligence from some English in the town), I sent out four frigates some two leagues off from the harbour's mouth, who brought in two vessels hereafter mentioned. All this while, since our coming to the 10th of March, we had such stormy, rainy weather, as nothing, in order to fitting the ships, could be effected.

The 9th of March, arrived here Capt. Mildmay in the *Nonsuch;* and on the 12th Capt. Blake from the Vigo, bringing my orders to pursue Rupert.

The 13th, Capt. Hall and his fleet set sail for the Straits; and the 14th, came in Capt. Sanders, who, some three weeks before, met the three aforesaid Portugal ships; and, endeavouring to keep them company till he should meet us, lost company of his two vessels that he brought from the islands, and soon after was dispersed from the Portugals by storm. After which, not finding us at the Rock, went for Vigo, where missing of his two consorts (the Frenchman's ship and galliot), and meeting my orders for Cadiz, came hither as abovesaid. If these two ships shall come in before Capt. Birkdell goes away, the first is to come for England under his convoy; and the skipper of the other is, by order of a council of war held aboard the *Triumph,* to be repossessed of her. If they come not, I shall order the two victuallers, in the way home, to call in at Vigo; and, finding the French ship there, take her along to England.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

It may be supposed we have spent too long time here; but I am confident there never was more work done by any of our ships, with so little help, in so short a time. The whole fleet goes six to four men's allowance, at which we are victualled for above five months.

I am even now ready to sail, hoping the presence of the Lord will go with us, and enable us to act for his glory, and the dissipation of his and our enemies.

When your honours shall send me any further commands, I humbly desire they may call in at Cadiz, Malaga, and Alicant, at some of which ports they will hear of me. I shall neglect no opportunity that the Lord shall put into my hands for effecting your honours' commands laid upon me, nor of giving your honours' an account of my future actions. I am,

Your honours' most faithful and obedient servant,

W. PENN.

Aboard the State's ship *Fairfax*, in Cadiz bay,
March 26th, 1651.

A List of the Ships and Vessels seized by the Squadron of the State's Ships under the command of Capt. Wil. Penn, &c. in this present expedition, 1650 *and* 1651.

1. The *Sancta Maria*, a sugar prize, arrived in England.

2. The *Crown*, a fly-boat of Havre-de-Grace, in France, burthen 400 tons, 22 guns, part laden with corn at the western islands, and from thence sent under the convoy of the *Star* frigate for Vigo.

3. A galliot of Amsterdam, laden with corn at the Terceiras, cleared by a council of war aboard the *Triumph*.

4. The *Salt-heap*, burthen 400 tons, richly laden from Genoa, bound in for Lisbon; and I do believe the papers

taken in her will prove the greater part of it to be returns of Portugal goods (formerly sent thither) sent home.

5. The *Arms of Amsterdam*, laden by a Frenchman, whom we took in her coming out of Lisbon, bound for Sallee, in Barbary, and the adjacent ports, to trade: sent home.

6. The *Cæsar* of Rotterdam, bound for Lisbon, and coming from Villa Roysin: sent home.

7. The *Christopher* of Rotterdam, cleared by a council of war aboard the *Fairfax*.

8. A Jersey vessel of some 50 tons, having about 50,000 of poor-john in her; part whereof is disposed to the use of the fleet, and the rest sold, as also the vessel, she being out of repair, and not worth sending home.

9. The *King David* of Rotterdam, and two other small pinks; nothing in them but ballast; bound for St. Toovyes, in Portugal, to lade salt for Holland. These vessels having obliged themselves not to trade with the Portugals during our wars with them, we discharged, by a council of war aboard the *Triumph*.

10. A small carvel (*fly-boat*), with some decayed pilchers in her, sold with the vessel for 1200 pieces of eight.

11. The *Fortune* frigate of Anchuysen, taken before Cadiz, with French goods in her, viz. bales of linen cloth, and about 4000 pieces of eight: she comes home, &c.

12. The *Peter* of Amsterdam, cleared by a council of war, all the French goods being first taken out, and put aboard the said prize *Fortune*, viz. 33 bales of linen cloth."

" *A Letter from the Fleet at Sea under Capt. Hall.*

Sir,

On the 14th of February I set sail out of the Downs, taking with me such merchant ships as were then there bound for the Straits, and got to Falmouth on the 18th; and only staying without the harbour until the ships within came out

to me, the same day set sail for Cadiz. In my way, the next day, I retook a Flemish vessel called the *Golden Waggon*, laden with Englishmen's goods, consigned to Barnstaple, which, a little before, was surprised by two Irish frigates; which vessel I took along with me hither, and have ordered to come for England with the *Lion*.

The 28th of February, I anchored in Cadiz bay, where, suddenly after, in the same day, Capt. Penn, with his squadron, came and anchored. As I came in, I found five sail of seeming Flemings ride about two leagues out of command of any of the Spanish castles, one of which I, suspecting to be one of those whom my instructions lead me to deal withal, and intelligence to me from Cadiz affirming her so to be, myself, with Capt. Penn, sent out some frigates to know the certainty, who found her a Flemish ship, but to have in her Frenchmen's goods, as linen cloth, and 3300 and odd pieces of eight; which, being taken out, and delivered to Capt. Penn, for suppliment of the present wants of his squadron, the vessel, with the rest of her lading also, is ordered to come for England with the *Lion*.

Aboard one of the other of those five ships, we found Frenchmen's goods, which we caused to be taken out and put aboard her.

Here are no men-of-war in this part, only yours; and some Flemish ships, which came lately from Sallee, where they have concluded a peace.

Your fleets meeting here, so soon after the departure of the other fleet, is of no less admiration to other foreign kingdoms (into which reports fly of them daily) than to Spain; who much admire your quickness, in such strength and full supplies. So as I believe, in a short time, the Spaniards, between fear and love, will grow respectful to us; though, hitherto, we have had little sign of it, more than compliments (only free access to the shore, where we are in nowise molested in our business), which we fail not to equalise them in.

We had extraordinary foul weather since our coming in here, so as we could not ride but with topmasts and yards down; but now it is fairer, so as I am just now setting sail for the Straits with my squadron and convoy, in pursuance of my instructions, which, with God's assistance, I shall carefully prosecute.

This being all at present that I have to acquaint you with, I humbly remain

Your honour's most humble servant,

EDWARD HALL."

Aboard the *Triumph*, in Cadiz bay, this 11th of March, 1650–1.

"29*th*, *Saturday*.—About five in the morning I set sail from the bay of Cadiz with my squadron (most humbly imploring the Lord of Hosts to own us, and accompany us), viz. the *Fairfax*, *Centurion*, *Pelican*, *Foresight*, *Nonsuch*, *Adventure*, *Assurance*, and *Star* frigate; intending (with God's assistance) to find Prince Rupert out, and endeavour the destroying of him and his adherents, according to my orders received from the state by Captain Blake, as before mentioned. About noon, I ordered Captain Mildmay, supposing his frigate to sail best, to make sail, and to look in Tangier bay for French men-of-war. About seven at night, Captain Mildmay came, and told us there was no ships in the bay. About eleven at night, being shot within the narrow of the Straits' mouth, we hauled up our sails, and drove, supposing to meet with three sails we saw about sunset astern of us: a fine gale, westerly all day.

30*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—After daylight, seeing no ships, we made sail: about nine at night we came to anchor about a league off Malaga Road, intending to stop till morning, to hear what news, &c. About the same time there came a messenger from the governor, to signify his forwardness in supplying us with what we should have occasion to use from that place.

31*st*.—After daylight we all set sail, and stood in towards the town, and saluted it with 11 guns, and then bore away.

April 2*d*.—About seven in the morning, we spoke with three Plymouth-men and two Flemings come from Alicant, and bound home: they could tell us no news of Prince Rupert, nor of any Frenchmen at sea. I sent a letter, by the master of one of them, to the Committee of the Admiralty. At eight at night, Motril bore N.W., three leagues off.

14*th*, *Monday*.—About six, afternoon, we came to anchor in Alicant Road. I sent ashore, to let the governor know who I was, and that I came here for intelligence; and to fill some water, and to get some beverage wine, if opportunity permitted. His answer was very civil, that I might have any thing that the place afforded.

15*th*, *Tuesday*.—About seven in the morning there came on board Mr. Richard Hounsly, who informed me, that, according to the desire of Capt. Hall, he had provided thirty pipes of beverage wine. We spent this day in filling our water, and getting what wine we could from the vineyards: the governor was on board with me.

17*th*, *Thursday*.—By seven in the morning we were under sail: several men punished for misdemeanours on shore: one of the *Foresight's* company, for striking the master of the said ship (who was then commander, the captain not being aboard), was last night, by a council of war, condemned to die this morning at eight of the clock, but was pardoned. About four, afternoon, we spake with a Genoese, three leagues to the eastward of Cape (St.) Martin; the commander whereof informed me, that, the last night, he was chased, near the shore by the said Cape, by four French ships, which he supposed were near Formentera. We stood over for *Ivessy*,[1] where the said Genoese supposed they were.

[1] *Ivica*, at that time pronounced *Iviça* by the natives, *Evissa* by the Italians, and *Eviss* by the French. "*Ebusus*; nunc vulgò *Iviça* incolis, *Eviss* et "*l'Isle d'Eviss* Gallis, *Evissa* Italis, insula est parva Hispaniæ, et regni

19*th*, *Saturday*.—About five in the afternoon, being close under Formentera, we espied a sail to the eastward of us, so far as we could descry her in the main-top: it was the *Great Alexandria* of Toulon, laden with sugars and cinnamon. She was formerly, as I was informed, rear-admiral of France, and did carry 44 guns, but now she hath but 32. We might have been first up with her; but being loath any mischief should be done in the night, we came within musket-shot of his side, intending, and supposing, the rest would have done likewise; and so have seized him in the morning, for he could in no-wise escape us, it being a light moon, and we sailed better than she with half our sails: but Captain Howett unadvisedly (before any of our ships came up with him) sent his boat on board him, whose men were suffered to go aboard; the commander of the *Crown*, which Captain Jordan took off the Western Islands, being there a passenger, and having told the captain of her who we were, and what strength we had: otherwise, without doubt, he would not have permitted boat nor ship to come near him in the night.

20*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—In the morning I ordered every commander to put 5 men on board her, and receive 15 out of her.

21*st*, *Monday*.—All things were settled, and every thing necessary was sealed, and made fast on board the prize. It was agreed upon, at a council of war, that, for many reasons, the said prize should be convoyed for Carthagena, and there be left until there were an opportunity of sending her home.

24*th*, *Thursday*.—It blew a very stiff gale, insomuch that, for fear of foundering the prize (she being very old), we were constrained to bear up for Formentera Roads, where, about three in the afternoon, we came to an anchor; and being all met, and perceiving the westerly wind was set in, I desired

" Majoricæ pars: quatuor mill. pass. ab eâ in meridiem distat Ophiusa insula, " nunc *la Formentera* dicta."—M. A. Baudrand Geographia, fol. 1682.

advice what were best to be done in order to the prize's security, for that our staying here until an easterly wind came, might be of greater damage to the service than the advantage of securing her (though she be considerable) can be: so that we determined to send two commanders, with my letter to the governor of Ivesey, to know if he would undertake to secure her, against any that should oppose her: and the captains to take notice if it be a secure harbour: for which purpose I ordered Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Ball, &c.

26th. *Saturday.*—Early in the morning, our captains arrived with an answer from the governor, who would undertake to secure her from any enemy whatsoever. I immediately called a council of war: where it was concluded, that it was most convenient and advantageous to the service to leave her here. Prince Rupert being, as we are informed, at sea. We presently victualled her for three months and a half, at full allowance: and I gave the captain money to pay his men, having ordered him to set them six to four men's allowance. By night we had fitted all things on board her: and I gave the commander the strictest orders I could, in relation to her security, both from outward enemies and inward plunderers. It was the desire of us all to keep to-morrow, being the Lord's day.

27th. *Tuesday.*—About five in the afternoon we set sail, intending (God permitting) either for Majorca or Minorca, as we could best touch to hear our Frenchmen, and hear intelligence. A little after sunset, we hauled up our foresail in the heads and braced it a-backstays, with our mainsail set: to the end we might discover what ships there were in our way to the eastward, amongst the four-mentioned islands. A stiff gale all day at S.W.

28th. *Wednesday.*—At daylight we made sail. In the morning I called the captains together. It was concluded, as a council of war, that we should all go to Majorca to hear the French, and learn intelligence. About six afternoon,

being about three leagues from the town, and falling little wind, I sent a letter to the viceroy by Captain Jordan and Captain Howett, to know if he would permit us to land the said Frenchmen, as also to learn intelligence. About nine, we came to anchor some two leagues from the town. About ten, the captains returned, it being an unseasonable time to speak with the viceroy. I ordered them to go early in the morning.

May 1st, Thursday.—About four, afternoon, our captains returned, and brought with them the viceroy's secretary; as also a letter which gave us liberty to land the said Frenchmen, which presently we did. I had sailed a little after night, had we wind enough to work the ship: my resolution was, to go to the northward of the island, where I was informed there were four or five ships, which we supposed might be Prince Rupert's; for that we were here informed, that he was ready to go to sea three weeks since.

4th, Sabbath-day.—At eight at night, the northernmost point of Minorca bore S.E., five leagues off.

5th, Monday.—In the morning I called our captains together for advice; and, after desiring the Lord's direction, we concluded to make sail for the south-end of Sardinia, about Cagliari, where we were informed the French did commonly ply; it being a probable place to meet with them whom we look for, viz. Prince Rupert. At eight at night, the body of Minorca bore W., nine leagues off. The sky was very black, with rain, and promised foul weather; but the Lord brought it to be fair (praised for ever be His great and glorious name). A fresh gale all day at N.E.

7th, Wednesday.—About eight in the morning we made Sardinia: about six, afternoon, we saw three sail, whom we supposed to be enemies; but speaking with them, about eight, we found them to be the *Sun*, the *Society*, and the *William and Thomas* of London, come from Zant, laden with currants,

and bound home. It being night, and stormy, we anchored to the south-eastward of the island.

8*th*, *Thursday*.—In the morning, I sent Captain Lawson and Captain Jordan on shore with a letter to the viceroy, and to hear news of Prince Rupert. About nine at night they returned with an answer, and three gentlemen from the viceroy. We all concluded, that our prize *Alexandria* at Ivessy, should go home in company with these three English ships, who promised to call for her. I writ to Captain Grimsditch to that purpose, and they were all to enter into a bond of £500 to each other, for keeping company. I writ a letter by Captain Lucas to the Council of State, and another to the generals. A fresh gale at N.W. by N. all day.

9*th*, *Friday*.—In the morning, about nine, the gentlemen returned to the viceroy. It being calm, we did not weigh until two in the afternoon; and then espying two galleys coming from the town, we stood towards them, and presently lay by the lee. They sent on board, to know if we would salute them? The galleys lay a mile in the wind of us; and the general of them, with other gentlemen, came on board me, and brought me a letter from the viceroy, to know whether I would come ashore, &c., which I soon answered; and saluted them with nine guns when they departed, which was about six. It being a fresh gale westerly, we stood off to sea, towards Galita Island, near the Barbary shore; being informed by one (which saw them some three days past a-stopping their leaks,) that the Frenchmen which fought with those three ships were there. No news of Prince Rupert, but that the King of France had engaged himself to lend him three ships,[1] but he should victual and man

[1] This intelligence explains Whitelock's statement of the 26th of the same month: "Letters, that Prince Rupert was gone to sea with *five* ships and two "fire-ships:" which statement, after the destruction of so many ships of Rupert's former fleet by Blake, would not otherwise be intelligible.

them himself. This, the general of the galleys told me, was in a letter sent out of Italy to the viceroy; but whether it be so, or no, he knows not.

11*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—The three merchant-ships parted from us about four in the morning: at noon, Galita bore W.N.W. a league off. Towards evening we saw three sail under the main, which we made for fishermen: we stood over for the south-end of Sardinia, intending (God permitting) to go along the east side of it, and Corsica, supposing that way to meet with some French men-of-war; if not, to ply some days near Toulon, to intercept any vessel by which we might have some certain news concerning Prince Rupert.

19*th*, *Monday*.—About nine in the morning I called the captains together; and it was concluded, at a council of war, that, for several reasons, we should repair for Leghorn for intelligence.

21*st*, *Wednesday*.—Presently after daylight we espied some sails, which, at our coming near them, we made for Spaniards (being 14 in number). The admiral sent his felucca to make us: it was the Naples fleet: we lay within half a league of them all night. We fell in with Mount Argentera: a fine gale, southerly, all day.

22*d*, *Thursday*.—About nine in the morning we came up with the admiral, and saluted him with eleven guns, with our flag struck: he returned us the same number, with his flag down, and then hoisted both together: my squadron saluted him, and his me. I sent two of my captains on board, to wait on him, and he sent two of his to me: he sent me a present, and I returned him another. About three in the afternoon, we sailing better than they, and being loath to lose time, I saluted the admiral in parting as at meeting, and he in the same manner answered: after which we made all the sail we could; and it being little wind all day, we lay off Mount Argentera.

23*d*, *Friday*.—The admiral aforesaid sent me word, that, the last night he spake with a satty (*satteau*) of Genoa, who

informed him, that Prince Rupert was at sea with five of his own, and four French ships; but which way he is gone, he knows not.

25*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—About eight in the morning, we came to anchor in Leghorn Road. I sent a letter to the consul, to desire to see him, but first, that he would go and inform the governor who we were; and, by the time I supposed he was acquainted, I would salute him and the town, which, about noon, I did with seven guns; he answered with five. About the time we came to anchor here, arrived a galley of this place, which came from Toulon; which brought letters both to Mr. Read, the said consul for the English nation at this place, and Mr. Charles Longland, merchant, &c. from their friends at Marseilles, that Prince Rupert, with the *Reformation*, *Swallow*, *Marmaduke*, *Speedwell*, *Jeremy*, and one fire-ship, departed from Toulon the 7th instant; which was avouched by the commanders and officers of the said galley; and was discerned to steer his course easterly.

27*th*, *Tuesday*.—We were employed in getting water on board all night. I got 3000 *ps* ⅛ from Mr. Charles Longland, to whom I gave bills upon the Council of State, payable to Mr. W. Limbry and Mr. John Langley, merchants of London; and 1000 *ps* ⅛ from Mr. Samuel Bonnell, merchant, of this place, to whom I likewise gave bills upon the Council of State, payable to Mr. James Stainer, of London. I sent a packet to the Council of State, under covert of Mr. Longland's for London. This day we had a consultation; and, after some debate, it was by all concluded (for that it was generally reported Prince Rupert was gone to the eastward), that we should hasten towards Maretimo or Trepani, on the island of Sicilia; Mr. C. Longland having engaged himself to use his utmost endeavours to send us, by way of feluccas, what considerable news he can learn of Prince Rupert.

29*th*, *Thursday*.—At four in the morning I sent my boat ashore, to a town on Corsica called Bastia, for intelligence;

there being a rumour, about the time of our departure from Leghorn, that six sail were seen between this place and the Cabrera, the day before. About noon, she returned; but no such thing as six sail seen thereabouts, these six weeks. We made sail for Trepani, as before, &c. The Lord still accompany us, and own us for His, against all His and our enemies. Amen! Little wind, and various all day: at eight at night, Lilbo bore E. four leagues off.

June 3d, Tuesday.—At noon, the Boca of Bonifacio bore W.N.W. some fourteen leagues off.

6th, Friday.—This day, we set apart to seek the Lord in public; and, blessed for ever be His great and glorious name, we found much comfort. Towards evening, we saw the land to the northward of Trepani on the west end of Sicilia: it bore S.E. by S., about eighteen leagues off, by estimation.

7th, Saturday.—About eight in the morning, we fell in some five leagues to the northward of Trepani. The *Nonsuch*, being very light and foul, I sent in to Trepani to get ballast, and to wash and tallow so low as they could; by whom I sent a letter to the governor, and empty casks out of all the ships to be filled with wine, if there were any to be got; as also to Mr. Purefoy, to provide 60 or 70,000 of biscuit, if so much could be had, otherwise so much as could be provided between this and Friday next, we being in great want of both; but, the main business was to learn if Prince Rupert has past by this way, or if there be any news of him, many ships coming there to lade salt, &c. I likewise sent the *Star* in with the *Nonsuch*, to return with news speedily.

9th, Monday.—We being all very light, and in great want of water, the *Centurion* having but two days' drink, bore up for Maretimo, it being two leagues to leeward of us; about ten, I sent my boat ashore for news of Rupert; but could be provided of neither, at that place. Then we bore up for Favignana, where we sent a boat ashore; and came to anchor under Lavassa, where we got so much ballast as our boats could

bring till night. About five, our boat returned from Favignana, and brought me word that there was very little water to be got there; besides, it was so brackish that it would not be fit to make beverage. We rid there all night, it being a stiff gale at W.N.W.

10*th*, *Tuesday*.—About six in the morning we set sail, intending in for Trepani to wash our ships, and get water and bread, it being so resolved on before by the commanders. About noon, we anchored in the road; and Captain Mildmay told me, that the jurats of the town would sell us nothing without port-charges, nor could we have *pratique* till they had order from the viceroy, who was then at Palermo; for which purpose, the governor had then sent away a post. I presently sent to the governor, to desire he would meet me on the water in a boat, which, about six in the afternoon, he did. I talked roundly unto him for keeping us at this distance, but found he could not help it. He promised we should fill water this night, and that all the bakers in the town should be employed in baking biscuit for us; and that, to-morrow, we should have a good quantity on board: this night we filled upwards of thirty tuns of water.

11*th*, *Wednesday*.—This day we could get nothing from the shore; but they told us the bakers were at work, &c., and that when the order came from the viceroy, we should have what the town did afford: we employed all our boats in getting of ballast; and some ships were washed and tallowed so low as they could come.

12*th*, *Thursday*.—This day (having received a letter from the senate to require me to depart some time to-morrow) I ordered Capt. Mildmay, Capt. Blake, and Capt. Howett, to return to the island Favignana, and fit themselves so well as they could with water. We got from the shore near 13,000 of bread, which was all they could weigh, it being late before they could begin. I writ a letter to the senate, and another to the governor, to desire them to give me a meeting upon

the water; which, about seven afternoon, they did, and told me, they could not answer the giving *pratique* to any men-of-war, without order from the viceroy; but, to-morrow we should have what bread the town could afford.

13*th*, *Friday*.—Early in the morning our cask was ashore to fill water, but we could not be suffered to do it till night: beverage wine we got aboard, about 10 butts. All this day the senate spent about our having, or not having *pratique;* though the governor was here early in the morning to inform (us) that we should have it, and all that the town did afford; for so was the order come from the viceroy. This night, those on shore told the man attending the receiving of more bread, that there was no more baked (which shewed their false and villanous dealings with us), yet in the morning we should have about 4000, that would be ready about that time; but no *pratique*, which indeed I never desired, nor intended to have, so I might have ballast, water, bread, and wine, which we stood in great need of; though we were always getting what we could, in all the ports wherever we had been in.

14*th*, *Saturday*.—This day we got good store of water aboard, and near upon 30 butts of beverage wine more; and about 4000 of bread. The governor came to give us *pratique*, which I refused, having been so long delayed, and intending to sail this night. The consul promised to keep the bakers well employed in baking of bread for us; and that we should have good store ready about ten days hence, about which time I promised to send in a frigate to fetch it. The governor promised to be assisting in the providing of the bread; and very inquisitive after news of Prince Rupert from Messina, and the respective sea-ports of the island, and to send me present word thereof, for which I was to pay him; he was also to send the felucca, which should come from Leghorn, to me: at night we set sail.

15*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—About eight in the morning we shaped our course for Cape Bona, hoping thereabouts to meet with

some French men-of-war, or others passing by, of whom we might hear whether Prince Rupert be gone eastward or westward. It was thought very requisite we should call at Tunis, to know if he had been there, or on the coast; which we supposed well might be, to supply himself with some provisions, or to keep that shore to avoid being discovered. At eight at night, Cape Bona bore W.S.W., twelve leagues off: a fine gale all day at N.W.

16*th*, *Monday*.—About six in the morning, between the Cape and the island Zimbra, we espied two sail, to whom we all gave chase; and about two afternoon, I came up with one of them, and took him; Cape Carthage bearing then near S.S.W., about three leagues and a half off. The ship was of Sixfour, near Toulon, in Provence, called the *St. Peter*, burthen 130 tons, 10 guns, and 2 murderers, laden with flax, green-hides, molasses, &c., come from Alexandria, and bound for Leghorn, and from thence home. Capt. Ball was near me, when I took her; all the rest chased the other, who steered away more large. I sent Capt. Ball and my lieutenant on board, to seal up and make fast all the hatches and passages into the hold, and to bring on board the Frenchmen's chests, &c.; that all the fleet might have their part of it, when it shall be shared at our mast. I caused her to be presently manned, with eleven of our men, and of Captain Ball's. About six, we saw some of our ships plying up to me; I drove to leeward to them, all the time. About eight, Captain Mildmay, Captain Lawson, and Captain Howett, came under my stern, and told me Captain Jordan and Captain Sanders were still in chase; the *Assurance*, we saw to leeward. We drove all night, in expectation to see Captain Jordan, &c. In the morning a fresh gale, easterly.

17*th*, *Tuesday*.—About six in the morning we saw five ships at anchor in Biserta bay, towards whom we made; and about eleven, made them to be of Algiers. It was the opinion of our captains, we should anchor and send to know if Prince

Rupert had been at Algiers, or if they had heard any news of him to the westward, which I did; and about three afternoon, two captains of the Algiers ships, with an English renegado, came on board to salute me from their admiral, but could tell no news of him we looked for; but, that whatsoever we wanted that the shore could furnish us with, we might freely command. Upon which (finding it would be no loss of time) Capt. Jordan, &c., being to leeward, I sent Capt. Mildmay, Capt. Ball, and Capt. Howett, to look out for them; and myself, with Capt. Lawson and Capt. Ball, were resolved to fill what casks we had empty, with water, to-morrow.

18*th*, *Wednesday*.—In the morning, our boats went ashore for water: about nine, here came a bashaw on board, who was owner of two galleys; he proffered me so much bread as I would demand for money, or what else the land afforded, upon which I treated him kindly. This afternoon he sent me 5000 of bread, at 2 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$ per cwt., and promised I should have what I would to-morrow, the boats not being able to bring more this night: we likewise got some water, and had got more, but for fetching the bread. Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Howett returned. I sent Capt. Lawson and Capt. Ball to supply their rooms, in hopes to get more bread to-morrow.

19*th*, *Thursday*.—Early in the morning our boats went on shore, in hopes to have had more bread: before noon they returned, and informed me, that the governor on shore would let us have nothing from thence. Upon which, the bashaw and he fell out; and two or three of the commanders of the Algiers ships came on board me, to excuse the business: I resolved of present sailing, and did. This afternoon, about six, our three frigates and we met, some two leagues without the bay. I sent this bashaw a present, in hopes it would have facilitated the ransoming of seven Englishmen he had, that rowed in his galleys; but (notwithstanding the present) he held them at such unreasonable rates, that we had not money spare to ransom them. But he sent me one freely,

as a present to answer mine. I ransomed three more out of the ships, for 370 *ps* ⅛.[1] We drove all night keeping a light abroad, to the end Captain Jordan, &c. should see us if they passed that way.

20*th*, *Friday*.—We stood to and again off Cape Farina all day, but saw neither Captain Jordan nor the *Star*. I ordered Captain Mildmay and Captain Blake to range in the morning along Port Farina and Tunis bay in quest of them; myself, and the rest, resolving to keep between Cape Carthage and Zimbra until they returned; which was to be (if possible) before night.

21*st*, *Saturday*.—Early in the morning we espied a sail, to whom we all gave chase, she standing for Port Farina. Captain Mildmay being nearest him, I left him, with the *Assurance*, to follow the chase; myself, with the rest, bearing off to Zimbra. About noon I stood in again, and saw Captain Mildmay strike and hoist his ensign six times, which is a signal of so many sail discovered. I stood in, and found them to be vessels of Tunis, unrigged, and laid up there; it being a securer place than Galita, near Tunis, both from annoyance by enemies, and storms. Captain Mildmay took the vessel we left him in chase of in the morning: she was of Marseilles, in Provence, bound home, laden with green-hides and wool, with a few glasses; called the *St. Spirito*, burthen about 80

[1] Intelligencer, No. 126.—"*Algiers*, 19*th July*, 1651.—Capt. Penn, "commander-in-chief of a squadron of eight frigates belonging to the parlia- "ment of England, met with a frigate of this place, which is accounted one of "their principal goers, which feared no sail that they could meet with. Yet "the English frigates fetched her up, and brought her under command; and "finding them to belong to this town, used them with fair respect, and offered "to supply them with what they wanted. Captain Penn freed one Englishman "from them for 60 dollars, and they presented freely another unto him, which "they had taken some few days before in a Hollander. This friendly and wise "carriage of Captain Penn, in this business, hath given great content to these "people; but the noise of the English frigates doth much terrify them, and "may be a means to keep them here in some awe of England."

or 90 tons. She had four guns, and four murderers. With Capt. Mildmay were Capt. Jordan and Capt. Sanders, who (as they say) were beating it up ever since eleven that night they left us; at which time they gave over their chase, being loath to run further to leeward. It was thought fit by all the commanders, that we should to-morrow get in for Tunis bay, to learn what news we might of Prince Rupert; as also, to know what provisions might be got there when occasion, &c. A fresh gale all day, westerly.

22*d*, *Sabbath-day.*—About seven in the morning, we came to anchor in Galita road: within us, we saw the Algiers ships we left in Biserta bay, and two or three traders of the town. I sent a letter to the captain of the castle, to be sent to Tunis to Mr. Brown, an English merchant, to desire to speak with him. About two in the afternoon, he came on board with two of the dey (or ruler of the place) his men, to bid me welcome; and, that whatever the shore afforded I might command. Here is no news of Prince Rupert. Mr. Brown could not inform me whether there were any bread or tallow ready in the town, but to-morrow would bring down what there were of both.

23*d*, *Monday.*—All our boats went very early on shore to fill water, and so all day until the wells were dry. Mr. Brown returned, and informed me that there was neither bread nor tallow ready, but I might have what I pleased very suddenly. He brought me a present from the English of that place, which was, 20 sheep and 10 oxen. This afternoon I sent Capt. Mildmay, Capt. Ball, and Capt. Sanders, to look out about.

24*th*, *Tuesday.*—It was this day, before we could get the beasts aboard; neither could we get water, it blew so hard easterly, and so continued all day. Towards night, we had a very great storm for the time; in which the Lord was very merciful, in preserving our men in our boats coming aboard with water.

25*th*, *Wednesday*.—We got under sail by daylight, and were some three leagues off without Cape Carthage; but the wind blew so hard, and so far northerly, and there went such a great sea, that the prizes could not carry it about Cape Bona, which caused us to bear up again. The consul of Tunis came on board me, to get passage for Trepani. I writ to Mr. Brown, to get us some provisions against eight days hence. It continued much wind at N.W. all day and night.

26*th*, *Thursday*.—About four, afternoon, Capt. Ball, Capt. Mildmay, and Capt. Sanders, returned, and told me it was a sore storm at sea: much wind all day at N.W. and N.N.W., so that we could not get out.

27*th*, *Friday*.—Towards evening the wind began to *lander*, and we all got under sail.

28*th*, *Saturday*.—At eight in the morning, Cape Farina bore W.N.W. some four leagues off. We shaped our course for Maretimo, and at night it bore N.E., about 17 leagues off.

29*th*.—At noon, being fair by Maretimo, I sent ashore to the commander of the castle, to know if any ships had passed since we were there? He sent me word, none but one, and one satty which came between the islands. I sent Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Sanders to Trepani, to fetch what bread they had provided, and, if they could, buy some beverage wine; and then to return to me, between Cape Bona and the islands, so soon as they could conveniently: the consul went with them. Capt. Mildmay was to send Capt. Sanders to me, if any news were come from Leghorn. It was so much wind at N.W. by W., as we could carry our two courses. We stood to the southward all night.

30*th*, *Monday*.—At noon, Pantelaria island bore E.N.E., three leagues off. We stood off to the southward until eight at night, and then tacked about to the northward, with as much wind as we could carry our courses: towards midnight it proved less wind.

July 1*st*, *Tuesday*.—About eight in the morning we set

both our topsails: at seven, afternoon, we saw a sail under Maretimo, which we made for the *Star*, standing towards us, and we to her. At eight, Maretimo bore N., four leagues off.

2*d*, *Wednesday*.—About six in the morning the *Star* came to us, and brought the pratique-master, who did bring me a complimental letter from the chief of the Secreta; and another from the Senato, to which I could make no answer; but to the other I did. Capt. Sanders brought me a letter from the governor, and another from Capt. Mildmay, both which I answered: and he brought between 5 and 6000 lbs. of bread. I understood by the governor's letter, that there was ready baked 140 centals of their weight, 12 ounces to the pound. I writ unto him, that they should still go on baking, and, about ten days hence, I would send in a frigate for it. I writ to Capt. Mildmay to buy what beverage wine he could get, to which purpose I sent him butts; and understanding of two ships now in Trepani bound for Leghorn, I writ two letters (by the consent of the commanders with me), one for each ship, to Mr. Charles Longland, merchant of that place, desiring him to provide for me 100 hogsheads of beef, and so many of pork, against I came or sent, which (God permitting) should be about a month hence; and also some money, if I should want any. The grand reason which does lead me there, is the expectation of orders from England.

4*th*, *Friday*.—About seven in the morning, we gave chase to three ships we saw about four leagues to the eastward of Cape Bona; about noon we spake with them, who were all of London, viz. the *Sarah*, Robert Salmon commander; the *Dart* frigate, Jarvis Maplesden commander; and the *Endymion*, Jarvis Coachman commander, by whom I sent a packet to the State. They were all laden with currants from Zante, and bound home.

5*th*, *Saturday*.—About noon, we saw a satty under the shore, about four leagues to the eastward of Cape Bona; to which we gave chase, and, about one, commanded her. She

was called the *John Baptist;* she came from Malta, bound for Lisbon. She belonged to Martigues, near Marseilles, in Provence; was manned with Frenchmen; her lading was rice and cummin-seed. There was likewise in her a cavallero of Malta, a Portugal bound home. We took possession of her, but could by no means shut up the hold, for that all their provisions, &c. was there.

9*th*, *Wednesday*.—At break of day, we saw a sail about two leagues to the eastward of us, to whom we all gave chase; and it falling calm, I sent my boat to tow up Capt. Jordan, being nearest to him; and, in their way, to call all the ships' boats for the same purpose. By six, afternoon, they made her strike: viz. the *Adventure*, *Pelican*, and *Assurance*; but being calm, and two leagues from me, they came not to me this night. At nine at night my boat came on board, and informed me, that the ship was of Marseilles, in Provence; her name the *Francis*. She came last from Leghorn, and was bound for Alexandria; little lading in her. When we took her, Cape Bona bore N.W. 11 leagues off.

10*th*, *Thursday*.—Capt. Ball, Capt. Jordan, and Capt. Blake came on board, and informed me, that they had secured the commander's chest, wherein was 26 small and great bags of dollars, and 54 parcels of they knew not what, which was likewise in the cabin; and that nothing in her was so much as touched. I presently sent Capt. Jordan, Capt. Blake, and Capt. Howett on board the said prize, to seal up the hatches, and all other passages into the hold, and to bring on board me the said money and 54 parcels (there being no place of security); which they did. About four, afternoon, I sent away Capt. Ball and Capt. Howett to Tunis, to fetch the bread, peas, beans, oil, and tallow, which I ordered Mr. Tho. Brown to provide for us, and to return to us with all speed, N.E. five leagues off the Cape, or under Lavassa island. About seven, we saw a sail much in the wind of us. I sent Capt. Lawson and Capt. Blake to lie close under the Cape,

the rest I ordered, so well as I could, to meet him; but he escaped us. At eight at night the Cape bore W. by S., four leagues off: a stiff gale, easterly, all day.

11*th*, *Friday*.—About five, afternoon, Capt. Lawson returned, and presently after Capt. Blake, without sight of any vessel. I sent them again to lie to leeward of the Cape, and ordered them to be with me early in the morn; for that I did intend to lie near the islands off Trepani, and to clear off all there, and to know what was become of Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Sanders; and to call for counsel, from God and men, how to proceed further. A fresh gale easterly all day.

12*th*, *Saturday*.—Upon strict examination I found, by the master of the *St. Francis*, and the purser, that there was more money hid on board the said vessel. I presently sent Capt. Jordan and Capt. Blake, with the said purser, to fetch the money, which they did, being 14 bags great and small; and did hold out with the purser's book, saving one bag of an hundred pieces of eight, which I cannot hear of. Capt. Blake likewise brought the small bale that was by the captain missed out of the prize's cabin, which was hove to his coxswain in his boat, out of the cabin windows, by the coxswain of the *Adventure*, who was one of them intrusted with those bales. About five in the afternoon here arrived, with the *Assurance* and *Centurion*, the *Nonsuch* and *Star*, who brought with them 30,000 of bread; and told me that, according to my orders, the bakers were still at work for us. About six, Capt. Howett returned from Tunis, and informed me the king of that place had turned his mind, and would not spare us any thing from the shore; and that Capt. Ball, by shift of wind, was to leeward, who had a letter from Mr. Brown to me. A fine gale easterly all day; we drove all night, that Capt. Ball might come up with us. At eight at night Cape Bona bore S.W. three leagues off.

13*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—About nine in the morning, Capt. Ball brought me a letter from Mr. Thomas Brown of Tunis,

in which he informed me, the king of that place would not suffer me to have any provisions from any of the places under his command, unless I would sell my prizes there; upon which I was resolved to steer over to Trepani, as before, &c. But about four, afternoon, seeing a sail so far to leeward as we could well descry her from the topmast head, I ordered all our fleet to furl all their sails, that we might not be discovered, and divided them into four parts, for the best advantage to meet with her; and each part to repair to his respective station, when it began to be dark.

14*th*, *Monday*.—About noon, Capt. Lawson and Capt. Ball returned to me; but Capts. Mildmay, Jordan, Blake, and Howett, were above four leagues to leeward. We drove, that they might the better come up with us, until three, and then bore up to them. At eight at night Cape Bona bore W.S.W., near six leagues off. At nine, we clapt by a wind; then did we suppose two of them would fetch us, and the other two within a league of us.

15*th*, *Tuesday*.—Before noon, we were all in company again. I ordered Capt. Mildmay to deliver his bread unto the pursers of the *Assurance*, *Adventure*, and *Foresight*. Capt. Jordan and Capt. Mildmay informed me, that for some hours yesterday they chased the ship I ordered them to look out for, but finding her to sail better than they, they left her.

16*th*, *Wednesday*.—Presently after daylight we espied a sail, to which we gave chase, and about nine spoke with him, who proved to be a ship of Horn, in Holland, who, when we came to Trepani, was bound to Girgenti, and was now bound for Valentia; by whom I sent a letter to Mr. Rich. Hounsly, merchant at Alicant, to inform him where we were, and where in probability any of the State's orders might find us. About one, afternoon, I called a council of war, where it was concluded, that two of the frigates should go for Trepani, to dispatch our business there, &c.; and two to repair for Palermo to tallow, and sell the *St. Spirito* (her cargo being

perishable), if things happen there according to my expectation; myself, with the rest of the fleet, having dispatched at Trepani, to repair to Messina, by way of Malta, there to endeavour the cleaning and fitting of them with what shall be thought necessary. Our main reason in pitching upon Messina, was to provide ourselves with more flesh, or at least to eat flesh-meat during our stay there, with other things specified in the said council, subscribed by the commanders, who used many strong arguments for our going somewhere to clean the frigates; one was, that whereas we were terrible to our enemies by reason of our sailing, we should now become ridiculous, daily experience teaching us, that our enemy's ships go better than we; and that, without we be clean, we can in no measure answer the ends whereunto we came; with many others. We likewise ordered the punishing of plunderers, and other offenders. At eight at night, Maretimo bore N. by W. seven leagues off.

17*th*, *Thursday*.—Wanting money to send by Capt. Lawson and Capt. Jordan for the bread at Trepani, we opened some of the bags of money which we found in the *Francis* prize, and found them to hold out their number; but the greater part of it was Peru coin, which is not current in Spain nor Italy.

18*th*, *Friday*.—In the morning, Capt. Lawson and Capt. Jordan parted from us, steering in for Trepani to get bread, &c.; and so did Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Blake, intending for Palermo, to tallow and sell the prizes, &c. About ten at night we, with the *Star* and prizes, came to anchor near Favignana.

19*th*, *Saturday*.—The senate of Trepani writ me a letter, and sent it by two friars, whom they employed to solicit me to write a letter to the viceroy for the enlargement of the Juradoes, whom I answered so fully, that they were left without further demand; and by them I likewise returned an answer to the senate's letter, and a compliment in answer to

one from the Secreta of Trepani. I sent Capt. Jordan, at his request, the cavalier of Malta his letters to deliver unto him, if he and Capt. Lawson thought it would be no prejudice to the State of England. Notwithstanding my endeavours, I could get no fresh beef from the island to lengthen our victuals. I ordered Capt. Lawson and Capt. Jordan that they should (if it might be got) eat fresh meat during their stay in Trepani.

20th, Sabbath-day.—Being the Lord's day, little business passed; only a letter from Capt. Lawson, by which he informed me, that the governor was free that the prisoners, with my pass, should be set ashore to travel to their country; but the Juradoes desire respite till to-morrow, when they would meet and return their answer.

21st, Monday.—I received a letter from Capt. Lawson, by which I understood the senate would give no *pratique* to the *Francis'* men, for that they saw no bill of health from Leghorn. I presently sent it him, to shew them; then they would not, without leaving it in their hands, which Capt. Mildmay did unadvisedly of the *Peter* and *St. Spirito*; but I ordered Capt. Lawson not to deliver this, for that it would make much to the condemning of the said ship *Francis*.

23d, Wednesday.—About four in the morning we all weighed, shaping our course towards Malta, it being the most probablest place to meet with our enemies.

24th, Thursday.—In the morning I sent abroad a flag for council. We took in consideration the case of John Broome, who was in the *Convertine* when she revolted; but finding him to be no seaman,[1] and at the time the purser's servant, and relating to the steward; as also Henry Cowdall, boatswain of this ship, his examination concerning the carriage of Broome, at Goree, in Holland, when the Lord of Warwick

[1] This professional judgment in a council of war bears me out in affirming, that General Deane was not to be accounted a seaman, merely because he had been a hoy-man's servant at Ipswich. See pages 284, 285.

was sent there with a fleet to reduce the revolters: the said Broome, after receiving a sharp reproof, seeming a very penitent creature, was released, and permitted to go aboard the *Pelican*, to serve the State, where and to which purpose he voluntarily came; and went on board her when she was now at Trepani, with four others of Rupert's men (but pressed by him since the revolt), who ventured their lives in attempting their escape from him at Toulon. It was also at the council concluded, that the Frenchmen should have one of their boats to carry them ashore at Malta, when God shall, in his mercy, bring us near the said island. The council likewise counted over all the money that was taken in the *Francis* prize, and found there, in 35 parcels, Mexico and Seville coin 3066 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$, and in Peru 6977$\frac{1}{4}$, which in all is 10,043$\frac{1}{4}$ *ps*.

25*th*, *Friday*.—About four, afternoon, we saw Malta; where,[1] about nine, having given the *Francis's* long-boat to him that was commander of her when we took her, to carry all our French prisoners (save the purser and boatswain of the *Peter*, and purser of the *Francis*), being 35 in number, on shore; at that time the west end of Malta bore S.S.W. about a league off; we presently shaped our course for Cape Passaro, and so (God assisting us) for Messina. Towards evening, we saw two sail that made to the island, which we supposed might be some that brought provisions from Sicilia; but could do no good upon them, what for landing our prisoners, and being near night, and not to be seen but from topmast-head. A fresh gale, westerly, all day.

29*th*, *Tuesday*.—About four, afternoon, we came to anchor

[1] I exceedingly regret that, in the course of various removals, I have mislaid, and cannot at present recover, a curious and rare tract, containing letters which passed at this period between Penn and the Spanish viceroy; and between Penn and the venerable Grand-master of Malta, Paul Lascaris Castellar; great Bailli of Manesco, descended from the counts of Ventimiglia, in Piedmont, who were descended from the imperial family of Constantinople. He was made grand-master in 1636, and died in 1657, aged 97 years.

at half a mile to the northward of the town of Messina. An English merchant, by name —— Hicks, came, as from the senate, to let me know that to-morrow, in the morning, we should have *pratique*, and the copies of our prizes' neat patents. This merchant informed me, that by a galley which came from Leghorn about nine days since, and arrived here yesterday, he had letters from Mr. Charles Longland, Mr. Bonnell, and other friends there, that Prince Rupert had been at Cadiz, where he had taken two of the King of Spain's galleons, come from St. Domingo in the West Indies, wherein was 300,000 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$, as also two Englishmen, and a Fleming; which did somewhat take off my edge of staying here to clean. I called a council of my captains, who concluded, that if we might speedily have *pratique*, we should stay to make clean; and the rather, for that here we might furnish ourselves with beef and other things we wanted: but my mind was still to depart from hence to some place nearer to the Strait's mouth, where in probability we might hear of the said Prince Rupert. We were contriving the most expeditious ways we could for careening of our ships.

30*th*, *Wednesday*.—In the morning, about nine, the above-said Mr. Hicks came, and told me, that he was sent by the senate to inform me, that unless I would present every one of them, which were six in number, with a considerable present, I should not make use of their port to careen the ships, nor supply myself with provisions; using this argument, that the king had so of Colonel Platters at Palermo. My answer was; that as I thought I ought not to purchase the King of Spain his port with the State of England's money, so I would not; and that, not only considering the present amity between the State of England and his majesty of Spain, but also our being in those seas conduced more to the King of Spain his benefit, than our own. Notwithstanding which, the said Hicks assured me, that without our corrupting of them, we could not clean our ships. Yet, at his request, I

writ a letter by Captain Jordan, and sent the viceroy's order for my freedom in any port of this island, with the patents of the respective prizes, which they all kept, without returning one word of answer; Capt. Jordan waiting till five, afternoon, in my boat by the Mole, not permitted to come out of her. Before noon, I called my captains again for council; and we concluded, for several reasons, not to trust ourselves upon the careen here, but presently to set sail for Leghorn, in expectation of orders from the State; at least, surer news of Prince Rupert: also, to send the *Star* to Palermo, to order Captain Mildmay and Captain Blake to provide (if it might be got) a dozen or 20 butts of flour for the fleet, and to hasten for Iveasy with all speed, there to stay until we come (by God's permission); and to be providing pork, beverage wine, and beef for us: all which Capt. Mildmay was to do, and Capt. Blake and Capt. Sanders to ply at sea. About five, we all set sail from Messina; about half-past six, we all got out safe (praised be God!), save the *Peter* prize, who touched ashore at the point near the Lanthorn, and there stayed all night, notwithstanding all our industry and pains; all our boats being there, with Capt. Lawson and Capt. Sanders to help them. We drove all night to the westward of the Lanthorn: a fresh gale, southerly, all day and night.

31*st*, *Thursday*.—About three in the morning we got off the *Peter*, having taken out of her some flax and hides, and put them in the *Francis's* hold, where they will be more safe.

August 2*d*, *Saturday*.—The *Peter* not sailing so well as the rest, I ordered Capt. Lawson to tow her, which he did. At night, Strombolo bore S.E. by S., three leagues off.

5*th*, *Tuesday*.—Beverage and water being very scarce in the ship, I put our men to half allowance of drink, we having not for above eight days aboard. Presently, after noon, I called our captains, and found few or none in a better condition than ourselves. After some debate, it was determined that

Capt. Ball should immediately sail towards Palermo, and carry my order to Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Blake to sail for Leghorn, and to bring to me at Ivessy (where, God permitting, they should find me, or orders), what flesh Mr. C. Longland hath provided for us; as also, what letters there might be for me from the State; and to bring 4000 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$, which I writ to Mr. Longland to spare them upon their bills on the Council of State: I writing a letter to the Council of State to accept, and punctually pay them, &c.; which letter I sent to Capt. Blake and Capt. Mildmay, to deliver unto Mr. Longland when they had received the 4000 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$ of him. I writ to them, to send by Capt. Ball what money they had made of the *St. Spirito;* and ordered Capt. Sanders to come along with Capt. Ball, whom I ordered not to stay at Palermo, but to repair to Cagliari (where we intended to go, to supply ourselves with drink, &c.), where he should find me (by God's assistance), or orders where to come to me. About three, Capt. Ball parted from us: at eight at night, Alicur (one of the Lipari islands) bore S.W., some four leagues off: all the forenoon, little wind, and various; all the afternoon, a fresh gale at S.E.; a very black sky in all the windward board, sometimes lightning.

6*th*, *Wednesday.*—Stormy and gusty weather: the wind various till two, afternoon, and then we had a small gale easterly. At eight at night, the island Ustica bore near S.E. by S., about nine leagues off: the sky promised very stormy weather, and so it proved, with lightning and thunder: the wind veered round the compass. We were forced, the greater part of the night, to bear little or no sail, for fear of sudden gusts. The *Foresight's* fore-topmast was split from head to heel (as Capt. Howett told me) with a clap of thunder, and one man bruised in his cabin. Praised be our good, merciful God, who, notwithstanding our daily provocations, was pleased to preserve us from any harm to ship or man: to Him be all glory and obedience for ever! Amen.

9*th*, *Saturday*.—About four, afternoon, we came to anchor about a league from the town of Cagliari: I writ a letter to the governor.

10*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—The governor returned a civil answer to my letter by two of his captains.

11*th*, *Monday*.—I called a council of war; and it was concluded, that the *Assurance* and *Star* should go for Leghorn, to effect the business the said *Assurance* and *Nonsuch* were formerly ordered for; and that they should repair from thence to Ivessy.

12*th*, *Tuesday*.—A little after noon, here came the governor, &c. to meet the viceroy who was then in sight, in a galley that came from Valencia. I saluted the governor at departure, and the viceroy upon his arrival.

13*th*, *Wednesday*.—I writ a letter, and sent it to the viceroy by Capt. Lawson, whom he received civilly; and returned answer, that he would be glad to serve us in any thing.

14*th*, *Thursday*.—The merchant and I struck up the bargain for the *St. Peter* prize: he was to give me 19,000 *ps* of $\frac{8}{8}$ for the prize, her lading, and all things belonging to her, as we took her. Between 6 and 7000 *ps* he paid me in hand (being all the money he had); for the remainder, he gave me bills upon merchants of Valencia: the sale of her was consented unto by all my commanders, who did admire the merchant would give so much for her. At the desire of my captains, I cleared the purser of her; having taken his oath there was nothing in her more than was mentioned in the book he gave me, which he certified under his hand in the said book.

16*th*, *Saturday*.—About midnight we all weighed, and divided ourselves; and about one, afternoon, we spake with two ships, which proved to be Hollanders in the King of Spain's service, laden with provisions for his armada, come from Naples, and bound for Majorca. They told us they

saw a French man-of-war some 30 leagues to the eastward of Sardinia, two or three days past. At eight at night, Cape Pulo (or Pulla) bore N.N.E. about three leagues off.

17*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—At eight at night, the south land of Sardinia bore E. by N., fourteen leagues off: a small gale, easterly, all day.

18*th*, *Monday*.—At break of day, we saw two satties some two leagues in the wind of us, to whom we gave chase; but falling calm, I hoisted out my boat and manned her with armed men, and sent her to discover what they were, and, if enemies, to endeavour the surprising of them, when the rest of our ships' boats came to them; and, to the end they might follow our boat, I shot off a gun, and made a waft with my ensign, after which they went all up to the satties. About three, afternoon, proving a gale, our boats returned, and informed me, that they were Frenchmen (one of our boats having hailed them), and too strong for them to deal with, yet they made two or three attempts, in which there was one man killed, and three more hurt, all of Capt. Ball's company: but (God permitting) I am resolved to question them all for cowardice, for not boarding them. We still continued the chase, though in the calm: they rowing, got a great way from us, and after we had a gale, more. About seven we gave over the chase, they having got so far in the wind's eye of us as we could well see them: then did the south part of Sardinia bear E. by S. twelve leagues off.

20*th*, *Wednesday*.—About four, afternoon, our ship was on fire upon the upper deck, through ignorance or negligence of the carpenters, the pitch-pot taking fire; but, for ever praised be the name of our good and merciful Lord God, it was suddenly quenched, without any harm done to the ship in the least: the Lord give us grace to remember and consider how ill we deserve, and yet how rich He is in mercy towards us; which gives us great cause to extol the name of our great and ever good Lord, and to walk humbly and obediently

before Him all the days of our lives: which God grant we may, for his Son our blessed Saviour his sake! Amen! Amen! At seven, we made Minorca; it bore N.W. about nine leagues off: the current setting strong to the eastward, deceived us near eight leagues in our reckoning. A small gale, easterly, all day.

21*st*, *Thursday*.—About eight in the morning we saw Majorca; the body of it bore W.N.W. eight or nine leagues off. About six, afternoon, I called the captains together. We concluded to send in Capt. Jordan to the town to buy ten weeks' oil for the fleet, which at this allowance will be fifteen weeks. He was ordered, with all speed to repair to me at Ivessy. At eight at night, we were passing between the Cabreras and Majorca, towards which Captain Jordan shaped his course.

22*d*, *Friday*.—About two, afternoon, I sent my boat ashore to the town of Ivessy; Mr. Purefoy in her, with a letter to the governor, to know with what provisions we might be supplied here. I presently called all the captains together; we concluded to send Capt. Mildmay to Alicant, to Mr. Rich. Hounsell, to procure our money from Valencia, and to get it in his hands ready against the time it shall please God to bring us there; and to get us some beverage wine. About six, Capt. Mildmay departed; about the same time we came to anchor in Formentera road, to provide ourselves with wood and water from the said island, there being plenty, and not inhabited. At ten at night, Mr. Purefoy, with my pinnace, returned, and brought me a letter from the governor, who proffered us any thing the island afforded.

25*th*, *Monday*.—About noon, we saw several sails to leeward of the island; for the better discovering of which, I sent men on shore, who returned at night, and informed me there were five sail plying up for this place. The captains and I concluded it was best to remain here, so long as they intended this way. Capt. Jordan arrived from Majorca, and

brought the oil according unto order. A fresh gale, easterly, all day.

26th, Tuesday.—In the morning, one of the sails came about the point. I ordered Capt. Ball to weigh, and speak with him; but perceiving him to be a Hollander, and bound for Ivessy, I sent him a countermand.

27th, Wednesday.—In the morning, two ships came about the south end of the island, with Holland's flags, one in the main-topmast-head, and the other in the fore-topmast-head. I sent my pinnace, with a master's mate, to know what they were, and to inquire what news. About three, afternoon, he returned, and informed me they were States' men-of-war, and that the ship that came yesterday first about the point was their consort; that the admiral of these three, by name De Wildt, informed him, that he met Prince Rupert, with his five ships and a prize, off the Lizard, the 30th of June, their style, and that he steered up the channel; with other malignant news.[1] These Hollanders came to anchor near two leagues to the southward of us. I presently writ a letter, and sent it by my master to the admiral. About ten at night my master returned, and brought me an answer from the admiral, in which he certified his meeting with Prince Rupert, &c. as before.

28th, Friday.—At a council of war it was concluded, that in regard of this news of Prince Rupert, and our victuals being near exhausted, we should repair for Malaga, expecting orders and victuals by that fleet; and to leave orders with the governor of Ivessy (as I did also send him a present for his care of the *Alexandria*) for the *Assurance* and *Star* to follow us, and to call for the *Nonsuch* at Alicant. About ten we all got under sail: a fine gale, westerly.

September 1st, Monday.—At eight at night we fetched

[1] i. e. false and deceptious intelligence, betraying hostility towards the present government in England.

within the point, two or three leagues to the eastward of Alicant.

2d, Tuesday.—At break of day, we saw fair by us Capt. Mildmay, and a Genoese that came from Cadiz, bound in for Alicant, which were the two ships we saw overnight in the offing. Having ordered Captains Ball, Howett, and Jordan, to stand off and speak with them, about nine, forenoon, we came to anchor in Alicant road. I writ a letter to the governor, to let him know our desire was for wine and water. Here was no news of Prince Rupert, but that he ranged the coast near Cadiz, but made no stay; and since, there is nothing heard of him.

4th, Thursday.—About ten in the morning, Capt. Blake and Capt. Sanders arrived from Leghorn, and brought a Toulon ship, called the *St. Luke*, which they took in their way: she is a Holland's built, with a round stern, and burthen above 300 tons. Capt. Blake brought us a parcel of pork, which, with what money he received from Mr. C. Longland, came to 1000 *ps* ⅛; for which bills were drawn, on the blanks I gave Capt. Blake with my name, upon the Council of State. This day I sold (by advice and consent of the captains) the prize *St. Spirito*, with her lading, for 4500 *ps* ⅛. We were very earnest with Mr. Hounsell to pay us the money (now at Valencia) here, which was for the prize *St. Peter* sold at Cagliari; but could not prevail with him to do it under 10 per cent.

5th, Friday.—Myself, with the other commanders, took it into consideration, and resolved to proffer Mr. Hounsell 1000 *ps*, to pay us the 12,000 and odd *ps* ⅛ which is due at Valencia, rather than to leave a frigate behind for it, which he accepted (under pretence of doing me service), and by noon we had all our money aboard; and by evening, all our money for the *St. Spirito* prize. By night, with much ado, we cleared all: at ten at night we set sail, being little wind northerly.

8th, Monday.—In the morning, early, we saw two sail to the eastward of Malaga, whom we chased back to the road; three sail more there were coming out, standing to the westward, to whom three of our frigates gave chase. I staid a little, to dispatch Capt. Ball to Malaga, to know if there were any news of Prince Rupert, or if any of those English ships there had any orders from the State for us; as also, to buy some raisins to spend with our flour, to lengthen out our victuals; and to look after permission ships: he was to repair to us at Gibraltar bay. About three, we spoke with Capt. Mildmay, Capt. Howett, and Capt. Blake, who informed me, that the three ships they chased were the three Holland's men-of-war that were in Formentera bay. Being all together, we concluded to go to Gibraltar bay, and there to leave our prizes (if thought safe); whilst we ply in the Strait's mouth to intercept Prince Rupert coming in, or the French Newfoundland fleet, wherein, as we are informed, are 14 sail of men-of-war. Little wind at N.E. all day.

9th, Tuesday.—About two in the morning we all came to anchor in Gibraltar bay; save the *Alexander*, who, through carelessness of her company, ran aground in the very codd of the bay. We found here nine of our Malaga fleet, bound thither by the first opportunity; by whom we understood, of the *Leopard*, *Bonaventure*, and *Constant Warwick's* being at Cadiz, who came their convoy; and how that the State had sent us victuals in two Malaga-men, which were to come suddenly after them, and to deliver it at Cadiz; but there was no news in England of Prince Rupert. We were all this day getting off the *Alexander*, which about nine at night we did, and moored her; being little wind and various.

10th, Wednesday.—The wind being westerly in the morning, we did not weigh, but the Malaga-men did. Before noon, the wind being southerly, we got under sail; but before we could get out of the bay, the wind veered westerly, a fresh gale: and fearing we should be driven to the eastward (which

if we were, we should in probability be out of the way of speaking with all ships that should come into the Straits), we victualled the prizes for about three weeks, and sent them in under the command of the fort at Gibraltar; having before received the governor of that place his assurance of their security. About five, we all came to anchor under old Gibraltar point, where we could see any ships that came in to the Straits by day; and took care the watchmen upon the hills should give us notice, by fires, of what ships they discovered. Captain Mildmay I ordered to stand over to the Barbary side, to try if he could keep it up, or discover any sails; about seven he stood in, and informed me that he saw six sail, which we supposed to be our ships from Cadiz. We all weighed presently, and crossed it all night in the Gut, keeping a light abroad, supposing they would see it, and come and speak with us; but they did not, nor did we see them. At eight at night Capt. Ball returned, but could get no raisins for the flour, nor hear of any permission ships, nor news of Prince Rupert, nor orders for us. A stiff gale, westerly, all night.

11*th*, *Thursday*.—At break of day, we saw five sail so far to the westward of us as we could well descry them upon the deck: about nine we spoke with them, it being the *Constant Warwick* with two convoys for Alicant, and two prizes, being small French Newfoundland-men. Capt. Cox, commander of the *Constant Warwick*, told us that there was no news in England of Prince Rupert; and that he lost (sight of) the *Leopard*, *Bonaventure*, and the rest of the fleet, turning out of Cadiz two days since, being foggy weather; and that there was coming to Cadiz three months' victuals for this fleet in two Malaga-men, but not arrived when he came from thence. He could not tell me of any orders, any of the fleet had from the State, for me. I desired him to speak to them, that if they had, they should send them to Cadiz for me; which he promised to do. He stood away to the eastward, and we

kept by a wind. We saw three sail to leeward of Gibraltar, which we supposed might be the *Leopard*, &c. We endeavoured to find out a riding-place near Ceuta, on the Barbary side (we not being able to fetch further to westward), apprehending the French would keep that shore close aboard, but could find none; the wind increasing, and we had not got a league all the night: and this day I bore up to Old Gibraltar, where I came to anchor about six, afternoon; it being the opinion of the captains, that our plying is of no advantage, but that it would be more convenient for two to keep out by turns. A stiff gale, westerly.

12*th*, *Friday*.—Early in the morning we all weighed. Capt. Ball chased a vessel to the eastward, and we one to the westward. The wind being northerly, I ordered Mr. Harman,[1] commander of the prize *Francis*, to go to the *Alexander* and *Lake*, and bid them weigh and follow me; but seeing him make no great haste, I gave the same order to Capt. Sanders, and to stay by them until they came to me. About eleven, we spoke with Mr. Peake, commander of a small Sandwich pink; he came from Falmouth about fourteen days since, laden with pilchards, and bound for Alicant: he could relate no news in particular, but in general terms all was well in England (praised be our ever good Lord!); and that there was no news of Prince Rupert. We presently parted with him, and stood to the westward. About two, we came up with Capt. Jordan, who had commanded Capt. Winter, of Algiers, to take in his flag, and to stay until I came up; then he brought him aboard to me: we having found he did no harm to English, but rather good, in advising them how to avoid their enemies, upon general consent cleared him, and had, with his consent, two Englishmen out of him; one whereof he, ten days since, took in a Holland's fly-boat, for whom

[1] Promoted to be captain, after the victory of September, 1652, through Penn's interest with Blake: after the Restoration, Sir John Harman.

I paid him nothing, he not demanding any thing; but the other being a slave to one in Algiers, I paid the said Capt. Winter sixty dollars, it being the price he was sold for in the market; which he avouched before Capt. Winter, by whom I sent a letter to our agent there, to certify the whole, &c., and desired him, if this man's price was more, that he would pay it, and place it upon the State's account. About eight at night, I spoke with Capt. Thomas Browne, commander of the *Mary* of London, come from Newfoundland, laden with poor-jack, and bound for Alicant; he told us (he believes) the French Newfoundland fleet is not far off. At eight at night, we were in Tangiers bay.

13*th*, *Saturday*.—About ten in the morning, we spake with four sail, two of London, one of Dartmouth, and one of Barnstaple, all come from Newfoundland, laden with fish, and bound to Malaga and Alicant; they told us, that the French fleet could not be far behind. About twelve, we parted from them, and gave chase to three ships to the northward, whom we spoke with about three; they were, Admiral De Wildt, with his vice and rear-admiral; they struck their flags and saluted me, and then hoisted them again. I called the captains for advice, who said they had done enough. We stood over for Cape Sprat, to wait (if our good merciful God see it good) for to meet with this French fleet, or any other enemies of God and our country. A stiff gale all the afternoon. All the night we crossed it between Cape Sprat and Cape Trafalgar, to intercept any that should go in or out of the Straits.

16*th*, *Tuesday*.—At break of day, we spoke Mr. Haze of London, bound home. I sent a letter by the said Haze to the Council of State, though I had not time to enlarge as I would, and should. The *Star* arrived from Cadiz, and told me the prizes were safe.

" *To the Council of State.*

September 16th, 1651,
From the Straits' mouth.

RIGHT HONOURABLE,

My last to your honours, as touching our proceedings, was of the 4th of July, from Cape Bona, by three English ships. Since which, we have plied in those places where we thought most probably to meet with our enemy Rupert. Yet, notwithstanding all our endeavours, we could never get any certain intelligence of him until the 29th of July, at Messina. In which port (by reason our ships were grown so foul as rendered them unserviceable in respect of sailing) I thought to have taken in some provisions, and cleaned them; but at that instant hearing, by a Leghorn galley, that our said enemy had been lately, and done some spoil, before Cadiz, I staid not so much as to take in water, but immediately set sail, endeavouring to attain the place where he was reported to be. In the way, I was forced for supply to touch at Alicant and other ports, where the same relation was confirmed; but no other news of him for three months before; only I met three Holland's State men-of-war, the admiral of whom gave under his hand, that he met him in our channel near the Lizard upon the 20th of June, with five sail of ships. But this was contradicted by others, who report him to have been at the Western Islands since that time, which last I most credit. And forasmuch as it is credibly reported, that the French have a numerous fleet coming from Newfoundland (for the Straits), with a convoy of several considerable men-of-war, we have been for the space of ten or twelve days, and still are, plying in the Straits' mouth; where, if they come, we doubt not but the Lord will enable us to give a good account of them.

We have, since the date of my last, taken two Frenchmen more, viz. the *Francis*, of about 2 or 300 tons; in her, about 12,000 dollars, and about as much (in value) of satin, besides

other goods; the other, a fly-boat called the *Luke*, burthen 400 tons, 22 guns, only in her ballast. As for their men-of-war, such as were abroad at our coming into the Straits, betook themselves to the port, and never came out since; nor have we heard of any damage done by them, since our coming into these parts. So that, though our force cannot fetch them out, the Lord hath caused their fear of us to keep them in.

As to our missing the grand end of our design, viz. the suppression of that arch-enemy Rupert, I know not how it may be judged of; but this I certainly know, that the all-seeing Judge above, and the all-witnessing witness within, will clearly pass it on my side, that my endeavours and diligence have been to the utmost employed for the finding him, and putting a period to his piracy.

I hear your honours have intended some provisions for us to Cadiz, therefore I dispatched away a frigate, who (in case of their arrival) will take order about them. Myself, with the rest, continue here; waiting the Almighty's pleasure for an opportunity to do work upon his enemies, and demonstrate how desirous we are to do our country service. I humbly desire your honours to pardon this discomposed account; the bearer is a merchant, and the wind fair for his purpose, which makes him loath to lose time, and we are unwilling to put far to leeward from so convenient a rendezvous. But I shall shortly (I hope) have a better opportunity and occasion to transmit a more acceptable relation than now I can; therefore, at present, I humbly take leave to be, &c.

WILLIAM PENN.

P. S.—May it please your honours to pardon this post-script. One thing which changed my haste to this place, was the intelligence of a Portugal fleet lying hereabout, to intercept our Malaga and Newfoundlandmen, to whom we are a seasonable security; the said fleet is reported to be now lying off the rock."

17*th*, *Wednesday*.—About ten in the morning, Capt. Blake returned from Cadiz, and informed me, he saw the prizes well moored at Punchall;[1] and that Capt. Appledore, in the *Leopard*, carried some packets he had for me, from the State, up with him into the Straits. Capt. Ball and Capt. Mildmay being much in the wind of us, spoke with Capt. Wilkinson, commander of the *Alicant* merchant of London; who came from Newfoundland, bound into the Straits, but could inform them nothing concerning the French fleet.

18*th*, *Thursday*.—About six in the morning, we were near Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Ball. It proved a sore storm all day, with whirlwinds, spouts, gusts, much rain, and thunder and lightning; until, about five afternoon, it cleared up with a fine gale southerly (blessed be the name of our ever good Lord God, who preserves us from all evil, and bestows all good upon us!)

21*st*, *Sabbath-day*.—About noon, we spoke with seventeen sail; some whereof were Flemings, which were searched, the rest English, part of our Malaga fleet, who informed us of the Scottish army's clear defeat,[2] and their king taken, &c., which was a great comfort to us (may the glory be the Lord's!) At the same time, I received the packets that Capt. Appledore brought from London, one whereof was from the Council of State, by which they desired my care in endeavouring Prince Rupert's destruction.

22*d*, *Monday*.—About three afternoon, Capt. Lawson and Capt. Sanders came to us, having been absent since the 15th. They brought with them an Amsterdamer, which they suspected to have been bound for Lisbon; the master produced bills of lading for Amsterdam, the men would confess no otherwise. It was resolved to search him to-morrow; and, if no just cause was found for his detainment, to clear him.

[1] "Puntals, a mark for anchoring in the road of Cadiz."—Malham's *Nav. Gazett.*

[2] In the battle of Worcester, the 3d September.

23*d*, *Tuesday*.—Early in the morning, we spoke with the *Reformation* of Bristol, whereof Mr. Villicot was commander, who confirmed the good news brought by the Malaga men; about noon he parted from us. We finding no just cause to detain the Hollander, we cleared him. He had five Englishmen, which he brought from Venice from whence he came, who desired the skipper to clear them, that they might sail with us, which he was very free unto; and I spared him, having above my complement, two Hollanders that I took in at Leghorn, when I wanted men; and at his request, I ordered Capt. Mildmay to spare him two, and Capt. Jordan one; so he had five for his five.

24*th*, *Wednesday*.—Some part of this day we spent in praising our wonderful good Lord God, for his mercies to our poor land. After duty, we fired 31 guns, all the rest 21, save the *Star*, who fired 15.

25*th*, *Thursday*.—About seven at night, we surprised a ship called the *Temperance* of Lubeck, whereof Hendrick Wedrick was commander, who came from St. Michael's, one of the wester islands, laden with wheat, bound for Tangier, in the Straits' mouth; which place doth belong to the King of Portugal, as well as St. Michael's aforesaid. I put some men on board him, and kept the master of the said vessel with me. She was of burthen near 300 tons, and had 14 guns. This Lubecker gave us notice of Prince Rupert's being about the wester islands, &c., as per his examination.

26*th*, *Friday*.—In the morning, I sent for some of the Lubecker's men on board me, and ordered Capt. Lawson to send some of his men on board her; I likewise gave very strict order that none of our men should take any of their clothes, nor any thing that was in or belonged to the said ship, as they would answer the contrary. I took the master of the said ship his examination again, in which he confessed, that he intended for Tangier aforesaid. I promised him all the favour I could, which (God permitting) I will perform.

About three afternoon we saw eight sail, to whom we gave chase in the night. Some of our frigates spake with them, who were our Newfoundlandmen, convoyed by Capt. Hadock in the *America*, a merchant-ship in the State's service; they were bound to several ports in the Straits. Nothing concerning the French fleet.

27*th*, *Saturday*.— About three afternoon, Capt. Sanders brought me a letter from off Cape Trafalgar, from Mr. Gabriel Hill at Cadiz, in which were two from the victuallers at London, expressing three months' victuals they had sent for this squadron. I likewise had a letter from the Commissioners of the Navy, in which they writ, that the victuallers have orders to send three months' provision. I presently ordered Capt. Sanders to take the Lubeck prize with him to Cadiz; to seal up the hatches, and all other passages into the hold, &c. I likewise ordered him, to take course that the victuals that was arrived for us might be put on board the prizes *St. Luke* and *St. Francis*, without any embezzlement, &c.; to which purpose, I sent our steward for to take an exact account thereof. At eight at night, Cape Sprat bore E. by N. about four leagues off.

28*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—A very stiff gale, and a sore storm all day and night, insomuch that we doubted of being forced into the Straits. In the night, we were constrained to bring to another foresail and mizen, the others being split. At eight at night, the Cape bore E. four leagues off; the wind being all day at S.W., unless it veered a point or two in a gust, of which we had many and tedious ones, but no damage; blessed be our very good Lord! who, notwithstanding our evil deserts, continues his favourable and fatherly protection over us. Oh, that we had hearts to live answerable! In the forenoon, handing our main-topsail, one of our men fell out of the top, and fell (as we suppose) against the muzzle of a gun, and never stirred hand nor foot in the water as we could see; which made us not hoist out our boat to fetch him, it

being very foul weather, and lost sight of him presently: the Lord grant it may be a warning to us all, to endeavour to be prepared to meet the spiritual bridegroom, the Lord Jesus Christ, and with him to enter into that glory which he hath prepared for all his. Amen! amen!

Oct. 2d, Tuesday.—Before noon, Capt. Sanders arrived from Cadiz, and told me that the corn-prize was safe, with the rest; and that they were taking in the victuals out of Capt. Thomas and Mr. Tho. Highway. He informed me that the wheat was very hot, and would suddenly spoil if not prevented by unlading; and so said the master of her. Upon advice of Capt. Blake and Capt. Sanders, I writ to Mr. Hill to sell it for the best advantage of the State, and likewise to Capt. Grimsditch and Lieut. Adams to keep an exact account of its delivery; which letters I sent by a *proprio* from Gibraltar. Mr. Hill writ me, that he could not get the raisins I ordered him to buy from St. Mary Port (bay of Cadiz), it being such foul weather, and to send them by Capt. Sanders; which were to be issued out with the flour, to make puddings, to lengthen out our flesh. I sent Capt. Blake to Stipione to buy about two or three tons for that purpose. About five afternoon, we saw two sail coming from the westward: one of my boats was gone with my packet to the governor of Gibraltar, and the other was ashore for water; besides, we made them for English hulls, with galleries, and they were far off, and it being near night, which caused me not to weigh; but I sent the *Star* presently to make them, (if possible she could keep sight of them), and if they supposed them to be enemies, to let us know by firing a gun. At ten at night, our boat returned from Gibraltar, and informed me that the governor presently sent my letter for Cadiz, *per proprio*.

3d, Friday.—Before day, the *Star* came to anchor by us again, having lost sight of the two ships in the night. At daylight we weighed, the wind flying often between the E. and S.E., with sore gusts. I steered in for Gibraltar bay, to hog

and wash our ship, being very foul. About noon, two ships came about the eastward point. I ordered Capt. Mildmay to see what they were; they proved to be, Capt. Jonas Poole[1] in the *Mary Rose* of London, the other the *Golden Lion*, one Mr. Terrick commander, which were the two ships we saw yesterday: they informed us of seven or eight sail coming after them, whom they knew not. We being getting the wine from the shore, and hogging of our ship, with other work, I sent Capt. Mildmay, who was loose, to stand off so far as to make them, and if enemies to make a sign to us. About two he returned, and told me they were part of our Malaga fleet, bound home.

4th, Saturday.—The wind and weather being very unconstant all day, we rid still, supposing ourselves to be in a better posture to do service than being out; though I was resolved to take the first opportunity to repair off Cape Sprat (Spartel), to meet with the rest of my squadron. I received a compliment from the governor, as also a visit from some gentlemen he sent, with whom I had some discourse about the Amsterdamer Capt. Lawson and Capt. Sanders brought to me out of this road; but at last left them, seemingly well satisfied.

6th, Monday.—We saw, so soon as it was day, our four frigates under the west point at anchor, where we were just then going to ride; and about ten, we came to anchor by them. I presently sent men ashore to look out upon the hills; and, as they saw sails, to make signs. We saw the *Assurance* off the east point of Gibraltar, turning into the bay. I called a council of war (upon the examination of Hendrick Wedrick), and it was concluded by all, that we should keep together (as the council will make mention). I ordered Capt. Mildmay to go in company with Mr. Terrick for Tetuan bay, there to procure for the use of this squadron what beef

[1] Afterwards captain of Penn's flag-ship, in the expedition to Hispaniola, in 1654.

and peas he might with convenience. They set sail towards night, and so did Capt. Poole, who desired a convoy for Genoa and Leghorn; which the council would not yield unto, nor, indeed, was there ever a ship victualled for such a purpose, nor he very importunate, intending to call for a great Genoese and a Hamburgher that (he said) staid for him at Malaga or Alicant.

7th, Tuesday.—The wind blowing fresh easterly, we all weighed, and stood over for New Gibraltar road, where the frigates that came last endeavoured to water and ballast. About noon, I ordered some of our frigates to speak with a fleet of ships we espied coming from the eastward. Towards evening they all returned (save Capt. Mildmay, who staid out all night), and told me they were all Hollanders, save two or three English, all which came from Malaga. I ordered Capts. Lawson, Jordan, and Sanders, to cross to-morrow between this and Ceuta bay, and to give notice, if occasion. A stiff gale, easterly, all day.

8th, Wednesday.—In the morning, I sent for one that pretended to be consul for the English and Hollanders; who promised he would endeavour to get me some beeves, and to-morrow he would give me an account thereof. Towards evening, Capt. Lawson came, and brought me a letter from Capt. Mildmay; in which was one that the general of Ceuta sent him, wherein he proffered him, or any of the squadron, any thing the place did afford. This morning I writ a letter to the governor of Gibraltar, to write unto the general of Ceuta, to let him know who we were, &c.; which he did. I sent Capt. Lawson to ply in the Narrow all night, Capt. Jordan and Capt. Sanders being out before. A stiff gale, easterly, all day.

9th, Thursday.—As soon as it was day, my boat went ashore, and we were getting under sail. About nine she returned, and they informed me, that the consul had got about fourteen head of cattle; and, according to my desire,

they, with such others as he could get, should be near the water-side in the bay, about noon to-morrow, where we might see them, and, if liked, agree for them. We stood over for Ceuta bay, with the frigates that were with me: about three afternoon, we were in Ceuta bay, where Capt. Mildmay, Capt. Jordan, and Capt. Sanders, were at anchor. I writ a letter to the general, and sent it to Capt. Mildmay to send it to him, with the governor's of Gibraltar. I stood off to sea, and ordered Capt. Mildmay to send my boat presently by Capt. Sanders, which, presently he did; and to send the general's answer to me, when he received it: we all crossed in the Narrow, between Gibraltar and Ape's-hill. A fine gale, easterly, all night.

10*th*, *Friday*.—About six in the morning, Capt. Jordan brought me an answer from the general of Ceuta. About ten, I sent my boat to view the cattle. I ordered some to keep in Ceuta bay, and some plied every night between Ape's-hill and Gibraltar; in which bay, for the better providing of flesh for this squadron, about noon, I came to anchor near the town. Towards evening, my boat returned from where the beeves were. I sent Mr. Purefoy to agree about them; but they holding them dear, he could not this night.

11*th*, *Saturday*.—In the morning, I sent Mr. Purefoy ashore to agree about the cattle, and to desire the consul to come to me; and about noon they came. My business with him, was to buy pork of him; but he, nor any other, would sell hogs yet this month, their time of fattening but now coming. Afternoon, I sent Mr. Purefoy to the place where the beasts were left; but he returned at night, and told me they were all gone up in the mountains, so that it would require time to get them down again; but he had sent for them.

12*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—No beeves came down. We had ships out all night. Towards evening I sent out the *Star*. A small gale, easterly.

13*th*, *Monday*.—About nine in the morning, Captain Sanders brought in a ship of London, called the *Two Brothers*, whereof Richard Watters was commander, whom I obliged by bond, &c., not to go into any port of Provence, or any other in hostility against the state of England, to deliver his fish; he coming from Newfoundland. Capt. Sanders informing, that he, the said Watters, should say something to that purpose; he told us of about twenty-five sail of French Newfoundlandmen which fell into his company in the night, nine days since, about the Souther Cape, and were bound into the Straits; and he supposeth cannot be far astern of him. About eleven, there passed by three of the King of Spain's ships. About four, De Wildt, with his vice and rear-admiral, passed up into the Straits. We all plied over for the westward point of the bay, where three of us rid; the rest plied at sea all night, I having given them a word to each other, and a sign to make to me, if occasion should be in the night. No beeves came. The wind blew hard, westerly, all day and night.

14*th*, *Tuesday*.—The frigates that were abroad spoke with three Englishmen. We kept frigates abroad all night.

15*th*, *Wednesday*.—The *Pelican* and *Adventure* came in. I sent out the *Centurion* and *Foresight* in their rooms; and would have gone myself, but it was not thought convenient. We were promised the beasts should be down to-morrow at noon. A fresh gale at south-west all day.

16*th*, *Thursday*.—My boats were ashore about the beeves. About seven at night, I set sail, with the *Adventure*, to ply all night between Gibraltar and Ceuta; and ordered the beeves to be brought on board the *Pelican*. The wind easterly all day.

17*th*, *Friday*.—Seeing nothing all night, nor in the morning, but our own ships, I stood into New Gibraltar, to dispose of the beeves we got, which were nine; also to get water, there being none to be got at Old Gibraltar. We kept frigates abroad all night. Little wind and various.

18*th*, *Saturday*.—About ten in the morning, Capt. Mildmay arrived from Tetuan, and brought twenty-nine beeves, with sheep and hens for the commanders: we divided the beeves in the fleet, where flesh was most wanting. The governor of Tetuan sent me letters, and two Jews, to let me know how much he desired to have commerce with the English; and that we should have any thing the place afforded (but he must have a considerable present). About five afternoon, we saw six sail of Flemings, which stood up for the Straits.

19*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—About nine aforenoon, Capt. Jordan and Capt. Sanders brought in five of those six sail, the other they lost in the night; they came from Newfoundland, laden with poor-jack, which they confessed to have received from the French that fish there, nor could they make it appear to be any other men's fish. Many causes of suspicion we had, which being debated at a council of war, it was concluded, that the skippers should be dispossessed of their ships; the ships to ride under New Gibraltar for some longer time, for a larger and better discovery; and their sails to be taken from their yards, and kept on board the frigates; and their own men to continue aboard their own ships, and that for many reasons: they all pretended for Alicant (save one for Malaga), assigned to men in Alicant that had French commissions. We likewise concluded, that Capt. Mildmay should return for Tetuan, and carry, for a present to the governor, a piece of satin of forty yards, and two or three dozen loaves of sugar; and demand from him liberty to buy, at present, a hundred beeves, and a small parcel of peas and beans, and that hereafter we may be free to buy what we shall want, and that place afford. These Hollanders (Flemings) informed me, that they set sail from Newfoundland, in company of twenty-seven sail of Frenchmen, all bound to the Straits: which, according to description, must be those Mr. Watters met with off the Souther Cape.

20*th*, *Monday*.—Early in the morning the five Hollanders sailed. I ordered some of our frigates to see them well moored in New Gibraltar road, and all their sails taken from yard, which by night was done. We had a council of war: we had frigates at sea all day and night, and men looking abroad upon the hills.

21*st*, *Tuesday*.—Captain Mildmay had his dispatch for Tetuan, to buy 100 beeves, and some beans to be spent in lieu of peas, and had the presents for the governor of the said place; and if the beeves could not be got without powder, it was the opinion of the captains that he should deliver him two or three barrels, our want of flesh being great, and none here to be got fit to save; nor any quantity, and that very dear: besides, we must stay too great a time for it. He set sail about nine at night, by whom I sent a letter to the aforesaid governor. My order to Capt. Mildmay was, to dispatch his business, and to return here with what speed he could. We had frigates at sea all day and night, and men looking abroad upon the hills.

22*d*, *Wednesday*.—We went on, by taking more examinations of the Dutchmen (Flemings), to make a larger discovery of their design.

24*th*, *Friday*.—I ordered a survey on board the *Adventure* concerning their bread, 1300 lbs. of which was found unfit to be eaten by men. I sent a packet by Capt. Hancock to the Council of State, the Generals of the fleet, &c. We had frigates at sea all day and night, and men upon the hills all day: it being a fresh gale, westerly.

25*th*, *Saturday*.—Early in the morning we weighed, and about nine came to anchor in New Gibraltar road. The wind coming about easterly, I sent another packet by Capt. Hancock to the Council of State, the Generals of the fleet, &c. It was concluded at a council of war (one of the masters of the Dutch ships having confessed his goods to belong to Frenchmen, and having many reasons to suspect the rest to be the

like), that all the ships should be sent to Cadiz the first opportunity; and my lieutenant in them, with a commission to himself and Mr. Hill, to sell the fish in the said five ships at so much above 3 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$ Mex. per cintal as they could get, but not under; and not by parcels, but a whole ship's lading at a time, according to the respective Dutch masters' account of what is in each of their ships. I ordered all the Dutchmen to be put ashore, save four or five in a ship, to be manned with our men. I gave unto them that went ashore, a half-piece $\frac{8}{8}$ to each, to travel to Cadiz; and ordered all their clothes and goods might be safe, until they came to demand them there. All the sails by night were got to the yards, and they ready to sail. I met the governor of Gibraltar in my boat upon the water, half way between the town and my ship; where I told him of several miscarriages on his part, one whereof was the entertaining of the French supercargoes that ran out of these Dutch ships; one of which, that belonged to the ship *House*, of Assendelft, carried with him seven bales of French linen-cloth. He promised to search diligently for the Frenchmen, and cloth, but I doubt he was bribed in the business. Here came in a Plymouth ship laden with pilchards, who had been but eight days from thence, and informed us, that the *Swallow* had returned to the parliament, and was (as the letters expressed from London, before his departure from Plymouth,) in the Downs; but I suppose it must be the other ship spoken of by the master of the *Temperance*. The master of the Plymouth vessel told us, that the news brought by the *Swallow* was, that the *Reformation* was so rotten, that they doubted she could not (through defectiveness) return into the Straits: may it be true, good Lord! but we must not believe this bare report. At night it proved so calm that we could not get our frigates to sea.

26th, Sabbath-day.—Presently after noon, here arrived 13 sail of Hollanders, all from Malaga, bound (as they say) home, under the convoy of young Tromp, who came in with

his flag in the main-top; which I said nothing to, being in the King of Spain his port. Captain Mildmay arrived from Tetuan, and brought ten beeves salted; the rest not being come down, when the easterly wind came which forced him away. He brought some letters from the governor, and some Jews of that place, and some poor captives that were there; he likewise brought me two horses, as a present from the governor. I writ a letter to the Governor of Gibraltar about the Frenchmen, and linen-cloth, but could receive nothing but a complimental answer.

28*th*, *Tuesday*.—About eleven at night we saw several guns fired to the southward, which we supposed to be from our frigates as a warning to us. I fired a gun, and presently we all weighed, and stood after the flashings of fire, and sometimes fired ourselves, to give them notice where we were; but could see no firing from them after half-past twelve at night. We still stood up into the Straits, the course we supposed they must steer, and kept a very good light upon our poop. A fresh gale, westerly, all night: in the morning, much wind at S.W. I was up most part of the night: we had very good looking out.

29*th*, *Wednesday*.—At break of day, we were about two miles astern of the *Foresight*, *Adventure*, and *Star*, being the frigates that weighed with me; the others being at sea before. We stood still to the southward, with all the sail we could make (as we had all night), a little after sun-rising; discovering no ships of our own (save those that weighed with me), nor others. The *Adventure*, and the rest, clapt upon a wind to the southward; and presently after, we, to see if they were not between us and the Barbary shore, for we could have seen them if they had been between us and the Christian shore: then did Ape's-hill bear nearest W. about 12 leagues off. About four, afternoon, we fetched in a little to the westward of Wadello; and had so good sight of the Barbary shore all the afternoon, that none could pass between us and it, undiscovered.

30*th*, *Thursday*.—About one, afternoon, Captain Jordan came aboard, and informed me of a Genoese he stopped two nights since, who came from the island Terceira, where they delivered the goods they brought of the Portugals from the Bahia, they having been in the service, and hath now on board 250 chests of sugar, with a small parcel of tobacco; some of the which sugar and tobacco was the ship's twelvemonth's freight; and the rest, returns of the captain's and company's goods they carried out of Genoa. I ordered Capt. Jordan to carry her to our road near Old Gibraltar, where I would call a council of war, and dispose of her accordingly. The captain of the said Genoese was killed by Capt. Jordan, through his own perverseness, refusing to hoist out his boat; nor would he come by the lee, while Capt. Jordan might send his; but flammed him off, and would have him let all alone till next day, which, with the wind westerly, they would have possibly carried Capt. Jordan beyond Malaga. Capt. Jordan fired two shot, one after another, ahead of him; at last he was constrained to fire some guns in upon him (believing he was French, or else (that) he would never have used any of our ships, whom they might take for their friends, so as he did Capt. Jordan): which guns slew the captain and one more, and presently after four more wounded; which being done, they came by the lee, and Capt. Jordan took possession of her. The lieutenant of the said ship, who was brother to the slain captain, with others of the ship's company, gave us intelligence of Rupert's being, about six weeks since, at Terceira; and how cruelly he murdered the gunner of this ship, being an Englishman, and refusing to serve him. He commanded him from the town of Terceira aboard the *Reformation*, wherein he is admiral; and having him aboard, commanded his ears to be cut off ——; which being done, he caused his arms to be bound together, and flung him overboard into the sea, where the poor creature perished. The Lord forgive this bloody wretch, and convert him, if he

belongeth unto him; otherwise, if his Holiness please, suddenly destroy him![1]

November 2d.—About four, afternoon, Captain Mildmay arrived; having got so many beeves as he could at Tetuan, unless we would spare them more powder, which I am very unwilling to do. He brought with him about 36 beeves; and redeemed seven captives, whose ransoms came to 3507 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$, 6 rials, which all the captains, with myself, are equally engaged to pay, if the State will not allow of it. We had frigates out at sea day and night, and men upon the hills.

5th, Wednesday.—I sent Mr. Purefoy to town, to agree (if possible) for some pork to be delivered us about 20 days hence, it being the soonest (they say) their hogs will be fat. At nine at night he returned from the shore, and informed me, that there was seen by the watchmen on Gibraltar hill a fleet of about 28 sail without Cape Sprat: upon which I fired a gun for a warning-piece, and we all got under sail, having four without before, and men upon the hills all day. About twelve at night we spake with Mr. Tanner, in the *Victory* of London, come from Muscovia, laden with caviar and hides, bound for Leghorn; he certified me, that there was no fleet nor ship near the Straits' mouth at sunset, which was the time the watchman said he saw them, himself being about two leagues off the Cape at that time; so that I believe it was a false report. We plied in the trad-way all night: a fresh gale, westerly.

[1] It is to be wished, that Rupert's reputation was such as to give the lie direct to this dreadful statement; but, the characters of violence and cruelty are too deeply impressed on his name for so summary a refutation. "Prince "Rupert," says Clarendon, "had, with *notable vigour and success*, suppressed "two or three mutinies (in the seceding fleet of 1648), in one of which he had "been *compelled to throw two or three seamen overboard by the strength of* "*his own arm.*"—(History, vol. iii. p. 207.) English seamen, and a German adventurer! Yet here we have the language of justification and applause. See WHITELOCK, Sept. 20th, p. 485, for another instance of the same ferocious disposition as the preceding, in the same person.

8th, Saturday.—Captain Sanders brought me a letter, towards evening, that came from Malaga, from Mr. Giles Dunster; who advertised me, that young Tromp had sent for the State's men-of-war that were there, being four, as also for some others at Cadiz, to assist him against us, he fearing we would take some of his convoy that were bound for France. I resolved to get to the squadron as soon as I could, to have a council of war about it.

9th, Sabbath-day.—Early in the morning, we, and the *Foresight*, *Pelican*, *Adventure*, and *Star*, weighed, intending for the bay of Gibraltar, but could not get it: so that we all anchored to the eastward of the point. Afternoon, it blew a stiff gale westerly; towards evening, all but myself and the *Foresight* weighed, to look out.

10th, Monday.—About three in the morning we set sail, it being a small gale westerly. I sent my letters to the Council of State by Mr. Brook. My mainsail, with about ten men, being left ashore, and no course taken for them (the prize who was ordered to take them up having left them). I sent my boat to Capt. Mildmay to have him stand in the bay, and bring them to me off Cape Sprat so soon as he could: but, before we could get our boat aboard again, the Hollanders were got so far ahead as we could well descry them.

11th, Tuesday.—About one in the morning we came up with them, and went through the midst of them; but it was such a fret of wind that we could do nothing with them, the moon being then down, and it growing dark, so that we could not distinguish between ships; and if we had followed them until daylight, they would have carried us at least a dozen leagues to the westward, which was much out of our business. It was the mercy of God, we were kept from running aboard several of them in the fret of wind. We stood to and again in the narrow of the Straits' mouth under a mizen, our other sails being furled, to spare them; and also, that we might not be discovered so soon as when our courses were abroad.

About four, afternoon, we spoke with eight sail of Hollanders, four whereof men-of-war, admiral, vice, and rear: they all came under our stern, struck their flags, and saluted us. I answered them with the like number of guns. I sent and searched one of his fleet whom I had suspicion of, but found no cause to detain him; it was the *St. Spirito* I sold at Alicant.

12*th*, *Wednesday*.—About two in the morning we set our courses, and plied to windward. I dispatched away Captain Howett for Cadiz, to fetch bread, rice, oil, salt, and other things, which we shall suddenly want. We had frigates at sea, day and night.

13*th*, *Thursday*.—I gave Capt. Mildmay his dispatch for Tetuan, to provide more beef for us; and to that purpose writ a letter to the governor of the said place, and ordered Capt. Mildmay to give him the barrels of powder, if there were a necessity for it; it being the opinion of the captains, better to do so, than be without the beef that might in probability be got there. We were employed in getting aboard of beverage-wine from the shore, which we had bought. We had frigates at sea, day and night.

14*th*, *Friday*.—About noon the *Assurance* came in: towards evening, I and Capt. Ball set sail, it being a small gale easterly. We lay all night between Ape's-hill and the west land of Gibraltar bay.[1]

[1] I have been particular in giving the entries of the Journal for the days preceding and following the 14th, that the reader may compare them with the following circumstantial relation, which I am sorry to be obliged to pronounce fictitious: the *Dolphin* and *George* are not mentioned in the Journal. (See also Appendix M.) This fiction, however, though it proves the opinion entertained of the vice-admiral, will serve to shew, how little we can trust any of the unauthenticated relations of that period. Had such an event taken place, it could not have been unnoticed, both in the Journal and in the Appendix referred to.

"*A Great Fight at Sea, between the English, French, Dutch, and Portugals, near Gibraltar, in the Straits: with the Manner of their Engagement,*

16th. Saturday.—About two in the morning, we gave chase to a vessel which afterwards we made for a Spanish boat, with one topsail, came out of Ceuta, and then gave over chase. About sun-rising, we saw the two supposed the *Centurion* and *Pelican* bearing in for Gibraltar. We lay in the narrow of the Straits-mouth all day: it being a fine gale easterly.

17th. Sunday.—In the morning, the wind came to the N.W.: we turned into the bay, but we should be put to leeward. About two, afternoon, we came to anchor under

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the Parliament of the Four, and the Powers of Three were read and taken by Captain Penn, Vice-Admiral for the Parliament of England, &c.

Imprimatur, Jo. Lamb, Jan. 6, 1665.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the west land, near the watch-house: about eight at night we all weighed: very little wind, and various.

17*th*, *Monday*.—About three in the morning it began to blow at W.S.W., a fresh gale. About noon, we came to anchor under the west land, where we had men on the hills to look out. About eight, we all set sail; the *Nonsuch* also, who had been at Tetuan, and delivered my letters to the governor, who promised us any thing the place did afford.

18*th*, *Tuesday*.—About four in the morning, the wind veered easterly; then we stood to the westward, to see if

enemy declined engagement, and would fain have deserted us; but Capt. Penn keeping close up with them, to the rest of their ships, the whole fleet became engaged, and a bloody fight ensued, which continued for the space of two hours, and very gallantly maintained on both sides: for, the *Lion* laid the French admiral aboard three times, and was still repulsed and beaten off; but the fourth time she carried it, and hailing her close, entered the ship, and put most of the men to the sword, for they denied quarter. During this dispute, the valiant *Fairfax*, and the rest of our fleet, plyed them close with great and small shot, and killed many of them; especially the Portugals, who lay the most open to our shot, for they charged the cannon on the outside of their ships. In this conflict, we sunk seven and boarded five more, and at last dispersed their whole navy, taking about fifteen sail of them, so that there are not many got off, but some few pickroons, which were too swift for us; but I am confident they cannot be very serviceable, for the ships that we have taken are exceedingly torn, and most of the men either killed or wounded; so resolutely did they fight it out. And truly I may say, that such a mercy never did God bestow upon his poor servants at sea as he hath done upon us, in giving of us victory over our enemies, and making us instrumental for the vanquishing such a formidable piratical power as these were, with so little loss; for, from the beginning to the ending, we lost not above twenty men, some few wounded, and our ships not much defaced or torn. God grant, that we may live to praise and glorify the name of the Lord for this happy deliverance; and likewise, for the many and wonderful deliverances which He hath dispensed to his servants.

"Two Dutch men-of-war came in to our assistance, about the middle of the fight; but it is conjectured, that it was more for their own ends than for any love they bore to us: however, I shall censure charitably, for we have lost nothing, but they have gained, having by this means enlarged their liberty upon these coasts.

"*From aboard the* Dolphin, *November the* 19*th*, 1651."

there were any ships in Tangier bay; having heard from Tetuan by Capt. Mildmay, that there was seen about seven days since, some ten leagues to the southward of Cape Sprat, a fleet of near 30 sail. About two, afternoon, we were in the bay, where we found none save one polacca, which got so near the shore that we durst not venture to her.

19*th*, *Wednesday*.—Early in the morning we gave chase to a vessel under the Barbary shore, which proved to be a Turk of Algiers; the captain whereof came on board me, and one more who was a Holland renegado, who would not go on board the said Turk again, for that he declared himself to be a Christian, and, unless I would heave him overboard, he would not go with them; and then, that he would rather choose to drown than go with them; so that the captain of the said ship seemed to be contented: he presently parted from us.

20*th*, *Thursday*.—About nine in the morning, Captain Howett arrived from Cadiz. I received a letter by him from the Duke of Medina, and another from Mr. Hill, both which required answers.

21*st*, *Friday*.—About six in the morning, we came to anchor in New Gibraltar road; and I dispatched away a *proprio* to Cadiz, with answers to those letters. About noon, the *Centurion*, *Pelican*, and *Adventure*, anchored to leeward of Gibraltar point. We had frigates at sea all night.

22*d*, *Saturday*.—I received a letter from the Governor of Ceuta, to which I gave a verbal answer to the gentleman that brought it; and would return no other, because it was full of lies which came from the governor of this place.

24*th*, *Monday*.—About ten in the morning we fetched into Stipione road, where was De Wildt, with his other two ships. I sent our master to let him know there were Turks upon the coast, and to know what news: he saluted me with seven guns, and I answered him with as many. He sent a captain of one of his ships, and his servant, in a compli-

ment: I spared him, at his request, the renegado. When they went off, I gave them five guns; the admiral answered, and the other two saluted me, and I answered them. I very friendly gave them satisfaction as to our taking of Holland's ships; all which I did, that they may know we intended no harm to any as Hollanders, only patronising Frenchmen's goods: we parted very friendly.

26th, Wednesday.—About nine I received a letter from Mr. Hill at Cadiz, in which he informs me, that the *Reformation*, and the *Revenge*, formerly called the *Marmaduke*, were sunk between the islands St. Michael and Terceira; of which ships' company none was saved but Prince Rupert and nine more, in the *Reformation's* pinnace. I returned him an answer, and desired further satisfaction therein according to the particulars mentioned in mine, and that with all speed possible: I writ to the same purpose to Capt. Sanders.

27th, Thursday.—Here arrived a ship of St. Lucar from the West Indies, very richly laden, the captain whereof came on board me to desire the loan of a cable, all his being so very rotten that he could not depend upon them: I told him, myself was in great want: he promised it should not be wet, unless he were compelled by necessity thereunto: I made him no promise, but I would see what might be done: he weighed, and stood into New Gibraltar road. Presently after came on board me Captain Blake and Captain Howett, who advised me to lend them one; they to return it at Cadiz, where the captain promised immediately to dispatch a *proprio* for two to be brought to him by sea, and when they came I should have mine again. The cause we spared them it, was the ill thought they would have of us if their ship should miscarry. We presently weighed, and stood in to the road after them, for the end before mentioned.

28th, Friday.—I sent for the consul, to agree with him for some pork, for the victualling of the *Nonsuch*, *Pelican*, and *Foresight*, whom it fell to, by lot, to go to the Western

Islands in pursuit of the *Swallow*, &c.: it being the judgment of the captains that I should not go, but three others should be sent.

December 1*st*, *Monday*. — De Wildt, with his two consorts, came by the bay, and saluted me with nine guns; I answered him again.

2*d*, *Tuesday*. — De Wildt, with his two consorts, came into the bay; we fired eleven guns to answer them. We had frigates at sea all night.

8*th*, *Monday*. — We were very busy all day in getting provisions out of the *Star*, to supply the *Pelican*, *Nonsuch*, and *Foresight*, with one week's victuals more complete. We resolved to keep here together this night, it being calm; and to spend some time to-morrow in praising the Lord for His past mercies, and to implore Him for the continuance of them, and to be our God and Lord when asunder, as He hath (praised be His name!) when we have been together. Fair weather: little wind, westerly: we had men upon the hills to look abroad all day. I took the examinations of two men Captain Sanders brought from Cadiz, who, upon oath, confirmed the *Reformation's* being sunk, and another of Rupert's fleet, of 36 guns, being cast away upon the island Fayall (one of the Azores); and desired to stay with us, and if it proved not so, they would be contented to suffer death.

10*th*, *Wednesday*. — We all came to anchor about seven in the morning, near the west point in our old road: the *Pelican*, *Nonsuch*, and *Foresight*, anchored by us, not being able to get out. The three frigates set sail to keep sea, and if they could, to get out of the Straits and to pursue their charge. We had men upon the hills: a fine gale, westerly.

12*th*, *Friday*. — About three, afternoon, about one league to leeward of Gibraltar point, I met the *Pelican*, *Nonsuch*, and *Foresight*, they not being able to get out of the Straits'-mouth: a fresh gale, westerly, all day: we four kept sea all night.

13*th*, *Saturday*.—Early in the morning we came to anchor under the west land in our old road: we all met, and took leave of each other: the *Pelican*, *Nonsuch*, and *Foresight*, went to sea.

14*th*, *Sabbath-day*.—We had little business to do: I writ a letter to Mr. Hill, at Cadiz, to provide us, out of our own corn, 20,000 weight of bread. I sent the *Star* to sea at night, whom I supposed, with the other three frigates that were at anchor to leeward of Gibraltar point, to be sufficient.

15*th*, *Monday*.—Early in the morning I, with the *Assurance*, weighed, and stood over for New Gibraltar, intending to agree for some more pork, and to get water to make beverage, which we did all day; but, being their Christmas day,[1] little was to be done ashore.

16*th*, *Tuesday*.—Before noon, we saw six or seven sail at sea, and saw and heard many guns fired; so we, with the *Assurance*, presently weighed to know the cause, and who they were. Having little wind, easterly, about four we bore in again. Seeing our frigates in the morning lie with their sails to the mast, and afterwards speak with six ships which were Englishmen, I sent the *Assurance* to our frigates, and bid the captain tell the others I would speak with them in the morning. About noon we came to anchor again at New Gibraltar, for the end aforesaid. About seven, came in two Holland's men-of-war, who were they that were in fight with a Turk all the morning, and at last put him ashore in Tetuan bay, where the ship was split. I sent and proffered them my chirurgeon, or any thing else I had to serve them. Here also arrived two Holland's men-of-war more: the wind various, with rainy and dirty weather, all day and night.

20*th*, *Saturday*.—We got 90 hogs from the shore, and were promised so many more by Monday. I ordered Capt. Ball and Capt. Blake to be supplied out of these 90; that they might be, so soon as they possibly could, ready to sail:

[1] According to the new style, not yet adopted in England.

intending they should go and ply off Cape Sprat, until it please God I and Capt. Lawson could dispatch here and come to them.

January 19*th*, 1651-2.—About two in the morning, we bore away for Cadiz, as it was before resolved by myself and Capt. Lawson; where I found Capt. Ball, Capt. Blake, Capt. Haddock, and Capt. Grimsditch, whom, with the *Francis*, I intend presently to send home under the convoy of Capt. Haddock and Capt. Sanders: the two aforementioned ships, viz. the *Luke* and *Francis*, having in them the *Great Alexander's* cargazone.

26*th*, *Monday*.—Capt. Bodilo (written also, Bodiley, and Badiley) and Capt. Reeves arrived from England; and a prize from Capt. Mildmay, called the *Renown* of Bourdeaux, with about sixty tons of corn. I received letters from our commanders.

27*th*, *Tuesday*.—Mr. James Wilson, who was commissioned to be States' agent for those parts, came aboard to see me, and brought a letter for me from the Committee of the Navy, to deliver to him the bills of exchange that were sent me from the generals of the fleet. I had but one left, which was upon Messrs. Boone and Upton at Seville, for 10,000 *ps* $\frac{8}{8}$, which I delivered him, and took his receipt for it, upon the back-side of the Committee's letter. Here arrived from the commanders of the western islands, the *David* of Amsterdam, a prize, and in her about forty tons of wheat. I received letters from our captains. Towards evening, Capt. Bodilo and Capt. Reeves came to see me.

Feb. 10*th*.—About noon, we set sail; about four afternoon, we came to anchor a little within the Porgos.[1] I ended my accounts with Mr. Hill and Mr. Wilson the agent, with whom I left a debt (as in Mr. Hill's account appeareth) of

[1] "Cape Porcus, on the S.W. shore of the Mediterranean sea, is to the "S. of Ceuta, just within the Straits of Gibraltar. Between the point of "[illegible] and Cape Porcus is a fine sandy bay, and good anchoring ground all the way."—MALHAM's Nav. Gazett.

58,849 reals, plate, due at the coming of the galleons, or at the 5th of March next, for some of the corn taken in the *Temperance*, for which I have Mr. Wilson's acknowledgment; as also for three ships of fish, viz. the *John*, the *Golden Sun*, and the *Flying Hart;* and the *Concord* of Lubeck, with wheat; all which ships are to be delivered unto the skippers again, when unladen. I have left with him the *Catherine* and *Alexander*, with some rice and cummin-seed, and the wheat taken out of the prizes *David* and *Renown;* for all which I have his receipts to be accountable to the State, he having an order from the Committee of the Navy to receive prize goods. A fine gale, westerly.

11*th*, *Wednesday.*—About six in the morning, we all weighed, viz. myself, *Centurion*, *Adventure*, and *Assurance*, men-of-war, the *Renown* and *David* belonging to us, and the *Charity* of Amsterdam, taken by the *Phœnix*, and Mr. Madox, a Bristol-man, in a ship of eight guns; the three first I commanded to keep company up to London (if the Lord please); the Bristol-man promised to keep them company until he came near home. About six, we, the men-of-war, parted from the prizes, resolving, if the wind hanged southerly or westerly, to hale the Cape aboard. At eight at night, Cadiz bore E. by N. about six leagues off. At midnight, we spoke with a Holland's man-of-war, having four convoys with him, bound for Cadiz. A fine gale, easterly.

March 1*st*, *Monday.*—About five, afternoon, we saw six sail coming out of Lisbon, keeping close to the rock, and stood upon a wind to the northward; they weathered us (by reason of our chasing last night to leeward) about two leagues. We all stood in to fetch their wakes, and then off at night with all the sail we could make, hoping to be in sight of them in the morning, especially if they intended to the northward, as they seemed to do. A fine gale, northerly, all day.

2*d*, *Tuesday.*—About six in the morning, these six ships were about three and a half leagues off, some three points of our lee bow. Capt. Lawson, Capt. Ball, and Capt. Blake

not far from us. Little wind, northerly. About three afternoon, we came up with them; one was called the *Prince*, of Amsterdam, near 500 tons, 28 guns; in her about 130 chests of sugar, some cinnamon, molasses, and oil, the rest salt; the *Busse* of Horn, in her about 130 lasts of salt, bound home; the *Salvador* of Lubeck, in her 55 lasts of salt, two chests and one fitch of sugar, bound home; the *Three Golden Herrings* of Rotterdam, 50 lasts of salt in her, and 6 chests of sugar, and some oranges and lemons, bound home; the *St. Peter* of Horn, in her 100 lasts of salt, bound home. We manned them all, and resolved to send them home, to be disposed by the Council of State, as they shall see good. Very little wind, and various. At eight at night, the rock bore E. by N. about fourteen leagues off.

3*d*, *Wednesday*.—At a council of war it was concluded, that Capt. Ball should (with God's favour) convoy these ships home; and that we three (if we could conveniently) should range the Portugal coast to the northward from the rock, or so near to it as we could fetch upon a tack, and so (through preservation) home: our victuals growing short. The six skippers went home in Capt. Ball; some of the men we three kept. I writ to the Council of State, and the Generals, by Capt. Ball, who, with the rest, parted from us about three, afternoon. At eight at night, the rock bore near E., about eighteen leagues off. Very little wind, and various all day.

6*th*, *Saturday*.—The sky promising blowing weather, we stood off. In the morning, about eight, a stiff gale northerly, in consideration of which, and our former resolution in the last council of war, we resolved to make the best of our way homeward: our good Lord God be our conductor, and undertake for us; so we shall be safe! About eight at night, the rock bore E., about twenty-two leagues off.

16*th*, *Tuesday*. — About two afternoon, we made the Lizard (praised be the Lord!); about five, we were thwart the Lizard. A fresh gale at south-east.

17*th*, *Wednesday*.—About ten, we were off Plymouth. I

sent a packet ashore, to be posted to the Generals and Council of State. The wind blowing hard at S.E., and promising foul weather, and we having no sails fit to keep sea with, about noon, we bore away for Falmouth, where we anchored about four; and found Capt. Ball with all the Dutch prizes, save one that lost them company off the N. Cape, her name was the *Golden Busse.*

18*th*, *Thursday.*—A stiff gale southerly. I went to Pendennis Castle; *having not put foot on land since my departure from this place outward bound, which was in last December was twelve months.*[1]

19*th*, *Friday.*—About seven in the morning, we set sail, having a stiff gale westerly.

20*th*, *Saturday.*—About noon, Dunnose bore N. near five leagues off. Our prizes, with Captain Ball, bore in for the Spithead; myself, with the *Centurion* and *Assurance*, kept sea, in hopes of a slatch[2] to get into the Downs. Much wind the latter part of the day, and all night, at S.S.E.

21*st*, *Sabbath-day.*—About noon, the wind veered easterly, and proved a stiff gale. About five, we anchored S.S.W. off the Needles, about four leagues off, to stop the ebb: the wind at E. We weighed at ten at night.

23*d*, *Tuesday.*—About three afternoon, we anchored within St. Ellen's Point: a fine gale at N.E. I received a letter from Capt. Moulton,[3] in which he advised (that) I should take my prizes, and others that are here, with me.

24*th*, *Wednesday.*—About five in the morning, we loosed our fore topsail and shot off a gun; Capt. Ball, with the prizes, came to us; but the wind veering easterly, we did not weigh. I writ to the Generals, and Council of State, to know their pleasure concerning what Capt. Moulton advised.

[1] The reader will have observed, that he held all conferences, with foreign authorities, on the water.

[2] A short, temporary breeze.

[3] Appointed Commissioner of the Navy, and Master-Attendant at Portsmouth, on the 5th of April, 1651, *vice* Col. Willoughby deceased.

25*th*, *Thursday*.—The wind being easterly, and this being no place for our prizes, and other small vessels which intended to go with us, to ride in, we all weighed, and went into the Spithead, where about noon we anchored. A fresh gale, easterly, all day.

27*th*, *Saturday*.—The wind easterly, we rid still. Mr. Coytmore gave me advice, to take the prizes, with what other vessels are bound for the Downs, with me; which I resolved to do.

29*th*, *Monday*.—Calm all the forenoon; about four, having a small gale at S.W., we all weighed; about seven at night, it fell a very thick fog. We lost all our company, save one small vessel; though we contrived the very best way we could to keep company. We bore so near the Ouse, as that we had but nine fathoms water; and all night, having wind westerly, we *spooned*[1] before it, with no sail set.

30*th*, *Tuesday*.—It continued thick till six afternoon; when it cleared, we saw Beachy N.W. by W. three leagues off. We were in the midst of our fleet; and though I fired guns, and made a weft with my ensign, those that were ahead made all the sail they could, and would not stay for us; we lay by for those astern. We gathered up all the men-of-war, prizes, and those astern. About seven, the wind came up easterly.

April 1*st*.—At six in the morning, we anchored a little to the westward of the Folkstone: before noon we weighed. About four afternoon, we anchored in the Downs (praised be the name of our heavenly Father!), where I met with the Right Hon. General Robert Blake.

[1] See Smith's Sea-Grammar, c. ix. App. A.—Falconer and Burney have missed the signification of this old sea-term. Johnson has not the word; but has introduced into his dictionary the word spoom, though it is plain that it was originally an erratum of spoon, in the passage of Dryden from which he cites it.

CHAPTER IV.

1652—1653.

Service in the first Dutch War.

1652.

THE first war with Holland now commenced; that great naval epocha, from whence the present era of our naval history dates its origin.

What renders this period a true epocha in the history of our Navy, is the fact stated by Clerk in the Introduction to his Naval Tactics. "While the "English seamen had been so often engaged, and "generally successfully, in the lesser battles, yet, "till now, they had never been tried in the greater, "where a number of ships were assembled together. "However, their wonted intrepidity, far from for- "saking them on this new and unexperienced occa- "sion, seemed to be augmented, or rather exalted "into a state of enthusiastic fury, which was sup- "ported with an unremitting perseverance during "the course of three dreadful wars; in the first of "which we had nine pitched battles, in the second "five, and in the third five also." In almost all the pitched battles of the first of those wars, and in the first pitched battle of the second war, it was Penn's good fortune to hold with honour a high command.

I shall not enter minutely into the political causes, remote or proximate, which occasioned our first hostile controversy with Holland; all these I leave to general history, my object being wholly professional and personal; I shall only observe, by the way, that the operation of the famous Act of Navigation already adverted to, and which was passed in October of the preceding year, 1651, contributed mainly, among other causes, to provoke and produce it.

The author of the Columna Rostrata thus sums up the immediate causes of the quarrel. "The late "successes of the Hollanders against the Spaniards "and Dunkirkers, had, it seems, so raised their "courage, that they were forward enough to try "their fortune with the English, whom they regarded "as their chief competitors in point of trade. But, "because what the English had done in granting "letters of mart, and in passing the Act of Navi-"gation, was no other than what all nations have "a right to do (being by the law of nature em-"powered to make reprisals, and establish such "regulations, with respect to trade, as are judged "to be for the benefit of the community, and not "to contradict any former contracts), therefore they "could not, with so good a grace, proceed to hostili-"ties upon those accounts. They therefore chose "rather to begin the war by refusing to strike the "flag, or acknowledge the English dominion of the "seas; which method, they thought, could not but "appear very plausible, it being, as they pretended,

" the resisting a tyranny which other nations were " equally concerned to oppose."[1]

" Alfred (observes Sir William Temple), to pre- " vent the danger of new invasions, began to build " ships for the defence of his coasts; and Edgar, a " prince of great wisdom and felicity in his reign, " applying all his thoughts to the increase and great- " ness of his naval forces, as the true strength and " safety of his kingdom, raised them to that height, " both of numbers and force, and disposed them with " that order, for the guard of the seas round the " whole island, as proved not only sufficient to " secure his own coasts from any new invasions, but " the seas themselves from the rovers and spoilers of " those northern nations who had so long infested " them; so that all traders were glad to come under " his protection: which gave a rise to that right, so " claimed by the crown of England, to the dominion " of the seas, about the year 960."[2]

" But before we proceed to an account of the " war," continues the author of the Columna Rostrata, " it may not be amiss to take a view of the state of " both nations, with reference to the sea.

" The whale, herring, and cod fisheries, joined

[1] " Columna Rostrata, or a Critical History of the English Sea-Affairs; " wherein all the remarkable Actions of the English Nation at Sea are " described, and the most considerable Events (especially in the Account of " the three Dutch Wars) are proved, either from original pieces, or from the " testimonies of the best foreign historians. By SAMUEL COLLIBER. London, " 1727." P. 93. One vol. 8vo.

[2] Sir W. TEMPLE's Introduction to the History of England. Works, vol. iii. p. 103, 8vo.

" with the commerce of almost the whole world,
" had rendered the Dutch the most powerful nation
" at sea that perhaps the world ever saw. The
" number of their fishing and trading vessels, is com-
" puted to have exceeded that of all other nations in
" Europe. Their people were well exercised, and
" animated by their successes in the Spanish war,
" which had been but lately finished by an advan-
" tageous peace; and the vast confluence of sea-
" faring men from all the northern parts, drawn by
" the fame of their commerce, furnished them, with-
" out pressing, with such numbers of able sailors as
" could not easily be exhausted by a long war: so
" that to wage war with them was, in some respect,
" to war against a great part of Europe. Besides
" all these advantages, such were the riches of the
" United Provinces, that even during this war (which
" was finished in less than the space of two years)
" they built sixty capital ships, of such bigness and
" force as had never been seen in those parts. On
" the contrary, the English did not enjoy so great a
" share of commerce; they too much neglected the
" fisheries on their coast, and employed almost none
" but their own subjects, who, during the reigns of
" James and Charles I., had been little exercised in
" sea engagements. The Dutch ships were built
" flatter bottomed, and therefore drew less water
" than the English; which qualification rendered
" them more capable of sailing among the shallows,
" where they often found a secure retreat, when
" chased by the enemy. The English ships being

" built of tougher wood, and with sharper keels, " were less subject to splinters, and fitter to dispute " the weather-gauge, which they seldom failed to " gain, though not always to their advantage."

But it will further be, not only expedient, but indispensably necessary, before we enter upon the naval events of this period, so important and so glorious to England, to rectify, by means which have but very recently been placed within our command, some prevailing errors respecting the mode and principles of our naval warfare in the great conflicts which were then soon to take place. Macpherson has stated, that in all those conflicts " the English fought with- " out order;" and that " the first time an English " fleet was drawn up in line was in the action under " the Duke of York, of the 3d June, 1665."[1] Charnock has asserted, that " in all the sea-fights against " the Dutch in 1652-3, no other method of fighting " was observed than keeping to their flags as much " as they could. The first sea-fight off Dover, at " Portland, in June 1653, and August (when Tromp " was killed), were (says he) all out of order; courage " and conduct swayed each captain to do his best."[2] And Clerk says, " the only idea I have been able to " form of the engagements with the Dutch, is that of " numerous squadrons assembled, to the amount of " 250 or 300 ships, jambed together in narrow seas " (the Channel), where they have been confined by " the shores on each side, and deprived in a great

[1] History of Britain, vol. i. p. 74.

[2] Marine Architecture, vol. i. Pref. p. 89.

"measure of every chance of manœuvring. Here, "in one place, ships in clusters engaged with one "another, independent of all order, getting foul each "of their antagonists; there, again, in another part "of the scene, one ship, single and alone, unsup- "ported, and beset with many enemies, left to make "the most gallant resistance she could. Of course, "on both sides, much bloodshed and loss of shipping "must have been sustained."[1]

Macpherson's reason for assigning the action of the 3d of June, 1665, for the earliest date of an English fleet drawn up in line, was, that he found a record of the operation on that day, but had found none of an earlier date. This negative reason was the only ground on which he rested his assumption, that in all the earlier engagements with the Dutch the English did not engage in line, but fought out of order. The same absence of evidence was also the sole prompter of Charnock's broad assertion, and of Clerk's ideal representations of the sea-fights of 1652; 1653. They had, in fact, no testimony whatever to guide their intelligence, and they were thus left to the exercise of a vague, though ingenious imagination. But, since those authors wrote, an original document has come to light, which, supported by other contemporary evidence, confutes all their assumptions and conjectures, by establishing, on positive and unassailable evidence, the certainty of the fact which those conjectures attempted to supply from

[1] Page 210.

invention. That document, is Pepy's Diary; which has arisen fresh from the age in which it was penned, and carries us back at once into the very times in which alone that point can be decided. In his Diary, Pepys has thus recorded:

"*July 4th*, 1666.—Sir William Penn came to me, "and we talked of the late fight (of the 1-4 June, "1666). He says, that we must fight in a line, "whereas we fought[1] promiscuously, to our utter and "demonstrable ruin; *the Dutch fighting otherwise,* "*and we whenever we beat them.*"

Now, one action only had taken place in that war, previously to this censured by Penn; in which former action, indeed, he had commanded and conquered, under the Duke of York, by engaging *in line;* but during the whole of the preceding Dutch war he was vice-admiral of England, and had been personally present in all its principal actions and victories. Here, then, we are at length supplied, and for the first time, with the positive information, 1st, that the Dutch habitually fought in line; 2d, that the English also fought in line whenever they had beaten the Dutch, and they had beaten them, several times, in 1652 and 53.

But it is evident, from the exceptions intimated, that the English sometimes did not fight in line, but promiscuously, or without order; and it is

[1] The sequel of the sentence proves, that we ought here to read *fought*, not *fight*, namely, in the particular action then under discussion; and as the Diary is written out from a short-hand cipher, the mistake was easy to any one not prepared for the subject.

natural to inquire for the cause of these extreme differences of proceeding. That cause is obvious, and at hand; the promiscuous fighting then condemned by Penn, declares it to us; it took place in an action ordered and directed by Monk alone, an intrepid and impetuous land-commander, but no seaman. The actions of 1652 and 53 were, indeed, also fought under land-commanders, but these were joined together in commission, and had able sea-advisers in a council of war, whose minutes were afterwards subjected to a close scrutiny at home; whereas, in the action of June 1666, Monk was supreme and sole in the command; and the high consequence to which his recent service to the crown had exalted him, emboldened him to give full indulgence to his own reckless daring, and to defy all scrutiny. When, in the former war, the land-commanders listened to naval advice, they fought in line, and conquered; when they slighted that advice, they were either unsuccessful, or by dint of desperate courage, and with a waste of men and ships, they succeeded at length in overpowering the adversary, in irregular and independent encounters.

In the Sea-Grammar, published in 1627, and reprinted in 1652 (the author of which lays claim to be the first person that ever wrote on the art of war at sea, and who prescribes rules for managing a fight at sea), there is not a thought beyond that of two ships fighting board and board;[1] and the ordering a navy

[1] Sea-Grammar, Appendix A. cap. 13.

at sea, either in ranks four-square, or in a half-moon, has regard only to sailing, or riding at anchor.

Vice-admiral Sir William Monson, who died in 1643, and who had served in the fleets of Elizabeth, gives the following

"*Direction of a Fight in a Naval Battle.*[1]

"The most famous naval battles these late years have afforded, were those of Lepanto against the Turks, in 1577; of the Spaniards against the French at the Tercera islands, in 1580; and betwixt the Armada of Spain and the English, in 1588.

"In these encounters, wherein the Spaniards had the chiefest part, as I have said before, they imitated the discipline of war by land, in drawing their ships into a form of fight, which, in my opinion, is not so convenient; though, I confess, in a sea-battle that shall consist of galleys, in a calm, it is better to observe that order, than in ships; for men may as well follow direction by their hands in rowing, as an army by words of the tongue speaking, or their legs moving.

"But ships which must be carried by wind and sails, and the sea affording no firm or steadfast footing, cannot be commanded to take their ranks like soldiers in a battle by land.

"The weather at sea is never certain, the winds variable, ships unequal in sailing; and when they strictly seek to keep their order, commonly they fall foul one of another; and in such cases they are more careful to observe their directions, than to offend the enemy, whereby they will be brought into disorder amongst themselves.

"Suppose a fleet to be placed in the form of a half-moon, or other proportion, to fight; if an enemy charge them home

[1] Naval Tracts in CHURCHILL's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 320.

in any of the corners of the half-moon, they will be forced to bear up room into their main battle; and then will come dangers and disorders of boarding one another, insomuch that it will not be possible for a general to give new directions, but every ship must fight at its will, not by command.

"For the avoiding of such confusion, the instructions of a general ought not to consist of many words; for the greatest advantage in a sea-fight is to get the wind of one another; for he that has the wind is out of danger of being boarded, and has the advantage where to board, and how to attempt the enemy; and thus did the Marquis of Santa Cruz labour to do three days, before he could get the wind of Monsieur L'Estrous at the Tercera islands, whom he afterwards overcame, and had a great victory over him.

"The wind being thus gotten, a general need give no other directions than to every admiral of a squadron to draw together their squadrons, and every one to undertake his opposite squadron, or where he shall do it for his greatest advantage; but to be sure to take a good distance of one another, and to relieve that squadron that shall be overcharged or distressed.

"Let them give warning to their ships not to venture so far as to bring themselves to leeward of the enemy; for so shall they either dishonour themselves, to see such a ship taken in their view, or in seeking to relieve her they shall bring themselves to leeward, and lose the advantage they had formerly gotten; for it will be in the power of the enemy to board them, and they not to avoid it; which was the only thing coveted by the Spaniards in our time of war, by reason of the advantage of their ships, as I have before expressed.

"The strict ordering of battles by ships, was before the invention of the *bowling;*[1] for then there was no sailing but

[1] "*Bowline* (*bouline*, Fr.), a rope fastened near the middle of the leach, or perpendicular edge of the square sails, by three or four subordinate parts, called *bridles*. It is only used when the wind is so unfavourable that the sails must be

before the wind, nor no fighting but by boarding; whereas, now a ship will sail within six points of thirty-two, and by the advantage of wind may rout any fleet that is placed in that form of battle."

In the instructions to commanders issued by the Committee for the Admiralty in 1647, previous to the Dutch war, that which regarded fighting was as follows:

"If any fleet shall be discovered at sea, which may probably be conjectured to have a purpose to encounter, oppose, or affront the fleet in the parliament's service, you may in that case expect more particular instructions. But, for the present, you are to take notice, that in case of joining battle, you are to leave it to the vice-admiral to assail the enemy's admiral, and to match yourself as equally as you can; to succour the rest of the fleet as cause shall require; not wasting your powder, nor shooting afar off, nor till you come side by side."[1]

But, in the brief instructions for fighting issued by Penn in 1655, presently after the conclusion of the Dutch war, when he was in the chief command of the fleet sent to the West Indies, his orders rested on the two principles, of "gaining the admiral's wake, "or grain," and "forming a line with him."[2] It will be evident, that the manœuvres which he thus ordered

all braced sideways, or close-hauled to the wind; in this situation the *bowlines* are employed to keep the weather (or windward) edges of the principal sails tight, forward, and steady, without which they would be always shivering, and rendered incapable of service."— FALCONER's Marine Dictionary.

[1] Original MS.

[2] Instructions for the better ordering of the fleet in fighting. See the next chapter.

when general of the fleet in 1655, must have been the same that he advised in the several councils of war when vice-admiral of the fleet in 1652 and 53; and we shall find, that in the last great action of this first war, which Paul Hoste calls the first battle of the Texel, as in the first action of the next war, which he calls the second battle of the Texel, the English fleet was drawn up, and fought, in line; with this only difference between the two cases, that in the first case the fleet was to leeward of the enemy, and in the second it was to windward. These denominations of Hoste are so much more satisfactory, from the many correspondencies between those two great conflicts, than any which our histories have assigned to them, that I shall adopt them in these Memorials; for, in both, Penn was the first seaman in the fleet; both commenced in regular line of battle; both were fought and finished in the same seas; both were victorious on the part of the English; and, in both, the chief commander of the Dutch fleet, perished in the action.

It is thus manifest, that from the commencement of hostilities with Holland, in 1652, the English seaman's principle of naval tactics was to engage in line; and, indeed, the example of the Dutch, under their experienced lieutenant-admiral, Van Tromp, would alone have compelled them, in their inexperience, to do the same. The promiscuous fighting in the first Dutch war, therefore, is not to be ascribed to the navy of that day, but to the land-commanders, or shore-admirals, set over the fleet; who pertinaciously

adhered to the old English practice of engaging ship and ship, until experience taught them the necessity of sometimes listening to those who had learned better than themselves what a fleet is, and how it might be best managed for the destruction of an enemy. Until this new occasion, the English had fought their naval battles promiscuously, as in their attack on the Spanish Armada in 1588.[1] But, when the English fleet riding in the Downs witnessed Van Tromp with his fleet, at the back of the Goodwin's, bear down in six divisions on the Spanish Armada of 1639,[2] and defeat and disperse that vast armament before their eyes, a new view of naval tactics was opened at once to the apprehension of the seamen, imparting to them new notions which could not fail to be well retained, and turned to good account by some. They beheld, for the first time, instead of the mere multiplied action of single ships, to which their experience had hitherto been confined, the combined action of a fleet, and the multiplied power of the combination. And when, at length, a time arrived that they were to enter the watery lists with that same skilful and exercised admiral,[3] those who were seamen had ac-

[1] See Appendix D.

[2] See Appendix E, 1 and 2.

[3] Martin Harpertz (or Herbert) Tromp was born at the Brill in 1597, and at the age of ten years began sea-service with his father, who commanded a ship of war in the Dutch fleet, under their celebrated navigator and admiral, James Van Heemskirk, in the engagement with the Spaniards before Gibraltar, in 1606. With pre-eminent genius and undaunted valour, he had been from that time, during nearly fifty years, accumulating maritime experience, when the English navy were suddenly called upon to encounter him in battle. In 1638, he had been rewarded by Louis XIII., king of France, with the order of St. Michael,

quired a conviction that they must relinquish the former inadequate practice, and employ their fleets in a manner corresponding to that of their great antagonist and instructor. But though the seamen had acquired that conviction, the army-admirals had not received it; and being suddenly sent to the fleet for the purpose of fighting, they thought of fighting only, and treated with impatience the *ab hoste doceri*—the suggestion of departing from the practice of naval warfare of their brave forefathers, and of learning from an enemy the method by which they must beat him. Nevertheless, it is certain, that as our army are fain to acknowledge that they are indebted to foreign countries for the improvement of the art of war on land; so must our navy submit to acknowledge,[1] that they owe to the Dutch, in the person of Van Tromp, the improvement of the art of war on sea, in an engagement of fleets; and must be contented with producing Trafalgar and Waterloo as the

and a coat of arms, for taking several Spanish ships before Dunkirk. In Feb. 1642, he was knighted at Dover by Charles I., whilst his majesty was on his progress to York; and, in the month of May, he received from the same sovereign, then at York, an honourable augmentation of his armorial bearings. (See Appendix F.) That he was a man highly gifted, we may infer from a passage in a letter of Clarendon of the 18th Jan. 1652-3: "I admire Tromp's "Ciceronian style as much as any man: indeed, Tromp's discipline at sea is to "be commended." The annexed portrait of this great man is accurately copied from that drawn from the life, and engraved, by the eminent Dutch artist Crispin de Passe, in 1639. In his later portraits, he had suffered his hair to grow at length.

[1] That acknowledgment will be made without repugnance by the generous nature of British seamen; as we may judge from the liberal maxim of "one of "the ablest and most experienced officers in the navy—'It is no matter whence 'instruction comes, from friend or foe, provided it be good.'"—Capt. HALL'S Fragments, First Series, vol. iii. last page.

several tests of the scholarship of the two services. That navy was now called to the arduous task, of both learning from their great exemplar, and vanquishing him, at one and the same time; and that, under land-commanders, who had never contemplated the points which had so deeply engaged their consideration. It is highly probable, that Penn's early alliance by marriage with a Dutch lady of Rotterdam, previous to his station in the Irish fleet, and whilst Van Tromp was at the height of his renown, had drawn his mind to reflect particularly on the proceedings of that great admiral.

"Capt. Penn (says his contemporary chronicler, "Heath) having been recalled out of the Straits for "this service, Capt. Badiley was sent in his place."[1] Previous to his arrival in England, the following order had passed the parliament:

"*Feb. 25th*, 1651-2.—Order of parliament, for continuing Col. Blake in the command of the fleet, and nominating another person to be joined with him."

The cause of that nomination was the death of Colonel Popham, one of the generals at sea, who had died in the preceding autumn, and whose funeral "was accompanied from Exeter House to West-"minster on the 24th of September, with great so-"lemnity, by the speaker and members of parliament, "the lord general, and council of state."[2] The person nominated to supply his place, was Lieutenant-

[1] Page 328. [2] Whitelock.

general George Monk, who, with Blake and Deane, were commissioned generals of the fleet, or generals at sea, for the eventful year now opening.

And here, again, it is very requisite to observe, that although Blake and Monk—for, of the regicide Deane, at sea, we know little or nothing, except that he received the recompense of a cannon-ball—although Blake and Monk brought to the fleet their own consummate valour and unyielding energy, they did not, and could not, bring more to the naval service. But we are not therefore to suppose, that the valour and energy of the navy was the transfusion of their personal qualities, as Clarendon absurdly imagined. Cromwell did not send them to supply the navy with courage; he did not mistrust that quality in the seamen; but he reasonably mistrusted their attachment to his authority, and feared the prior engagement of their affections towards the king. He therefore sent some of the most resolute of his land-commanders to watch and control the fleet, and secure the stability of his own military government. Clarendon has adventured some professional observations on this subject with relation to Blake, in which that noble and learned writer has signally exhibited the *sutor ultra crepidam*—the cobbler beyond his last. "He was the first man," says Clarendon, "that declined the old track, and "made it manifest that the science might be attained "in less time than was imagined; and despised those "rules which had been long in practice, to keep his "ship and his men out of danger; which had been

"held in former times a point of great ability and "circumspection; as if the principal art requisite in "the captain of a ship had been, to be sure to come "home safe again."[1] Little did Clarendon understand of "the science" which he undertook to discuss, when he indited this flippant rhapsody. Collingwood, in a letter to Lord Radstock of the 5th of July, 1806, thus writes: "Did Captain Waldegrave tell you what "a lecture I gave him? I thought it proper to do "so, though I was very much pleased with him. He "fell in with a gun-boat convoy, and knocked them "all to pieces, killed a great many men, and de-"stroyed several boats; but in doing it he got "ashore, and was very near losing his ship. In the "lecture I gave him, I wished to impress on his "mind, that he should never risk beyond the value "of his object, and meant by it, to temper his zeal "with a little discretion."[2] Such a lecture as Collingwood's, our seamen have needed in every age, as is shewn by the injunction in old instructions, to be careful of the ship; which injunction plainly sprung from the same cause, and bore to the same point, with Collingwood's lecture. But Clarendon could not perceive, that unless there had existed a professional propensity to put ships in danger, there could not have existed any necessity to enjoin their commanders to keep them out of danger; neither could he discern the principle involved in the injunction, "never to risk beyond the value of the object."

[1] History, iii. p. 602. 8vo. [2] Correspondence, p. 238. 8vo.

The equity judge proceeds: "He was the first that "infused that proportion of courage into the seamen, "by making them see by experience what mighty "things they could do, if they were resolved; and "taught them to fight in fire as well as water; and "though he hath been very well imitated and fol- "lowed, he was the first that gave the example of "that kind of naval courage, and bold and resolute "achievements." This is no flattering tribute to the renowned valour of Drake, Hawkins, Forbisher, &c. Heath has, with much more sense, and knowledge of facts, observed, that "Blake's service made him "as terrible as Drake to the Spaniards; there being "less difference betwixt the fame and report of their "actions and exploits, than in the sound of their "names."[1] Clarendon's total inscience of the subject on which he needs must dogmatise, rendered him unable to discriminate between the direction of courage and the infusion of courage, and caused him to mistake the former for the latter. "There "is certainly some mysterious agency in our naval "economy," observes Captain Hall, "by which "the genius of a commanding officer knows how to "impart a portion of its spirit to every one under "his orders."[2] But, to impart a spirit of genius, and to infuse a spirit of courage, are two very different things; the former supposes the presence of the latter, and works upon it. No Englishman, of sea or land, can wish to lessen the just honours of Blake;

[1] Page 392. [2] Vol. ii. p. 4, First Series.

but few, save Clarendon, would consent to degrade the English seaman's character in general, in order to give an undue exaltation to that of Blake; and certainly, Blake himself would never have sanctioned this malapert libel of the chancellor. Blake loved the navy, though sent by Cromwell to control it; because he was averse to the proceedings on shore, and rejoiced, at the age of fifty, to have found in the seamen a race congenial with his own nature. It was not a case of infusion, but of the mutual attraction of homogeneousness of mind and temper; a correspondence, which existed not, in the same entireness, between any other of the shore-admirals and the navy. If there was infusion on either side, it was the seamen that infused a naval taste into the gallant colonel, who so speedily became their admired and beloved admiral; and who knew, that they were "resolved" for any thing, and needed not infusion, but direction and co-operation. With Monk it was different; he valiantly used the navy when it was placed under his authority, as he did his army, but his mind was with the land-service, to which he gladly returned; Blake, on the contrary, never returned to service on land, after he had once tasted of command at sea. The celebrated maxim professed by Blake, and by Granger assigned to Lawson—"'Tis not for us to mind state-affairs, but to keep "foreigners from fooling us," was no other than the common maxim of the navy, from the commencement of the civil war; and the recorded sentiment of Blake, "that he would as soon lose his life

" for the king as for the parliament," is an additional evidence of his unanimity with the service he had adopted.

We have seen that Penn joined Blake in the Downs, with four ships of his squadron, on the 1st of April. Before his arrival, the following further " Orders" had passed the parliament.

" *March 4th*, 1651-2.—The fleet to be reinforced with an additional number of men for this year's service.

" That the Committee of the Admiralty do take a review of the list of all the captains of the ships for this year's service, and present their opinion upon them particularly to the council, on Wednesday next."

" *8th.*—General Blake to give orders for all ships in the River and in the Hope, that are taken out for the service of the State, to repair forthwith into the Downs with all expedition; also, letters to the Downs, Portsmouth, and Plymouth, to send back into the Downs, with all expedition, the *Worcester* and *Mermaid.*"

" *23d.*—That it be referred to the Committee of the Admiralty to prepare an account, to be given to the council, of what ships are already appointed for this summer's guard, and the several stations to which they are appointed, and the time when they will be ready; and likewise to take into consideration what ships more may be necessary to be set forth, and what other officers for the command of the fleet may be thought fit to be made choice of; and also, what ' General Instructions' are to be given to the commanders of the fleet, for the direction of them in their employment: and to repeat their opinions to the council upon the several matters referred, with all possible speed. And they are to send for the Commissioners of the Trinity-House, or any other persons whom they shall think fit to advise with, from time to time, upon any of these matters."

"*24th.*—That the council do proceed to the nomination of a vice-admiral and rear-admiral of the fleet, to be for this summer's service.

"Letter to General Blake, to cause a survey to be taken of the four ships now with Captain Penn which are coming in, viz. the *Fairfax*, *Centurion*, *Adventure*, and *Assurance*; and of their fitness to be continued out two or three months longer, if there be occasion; and to certify the same to the council."

"*25th.*—That the Lord General (Cromwell) and Mr. Dennis Bond be desired to go down to Chatham, to see in what forwardness the ships that are there fitting for the summer's guard are, and to quicken the officers in the speedy hastening of them forth; and that they be likewise desired to repair to Colonel Blake in the Downs, and to confer with him touching such instructions as are fit and necessary to be given to the commander-in-chief of the fleet; and to make report to the council of what they shall do therein."

"*29th.*—Resolved, that Mr. John Thurloe be presented to the parliament to be secretary, in the room of Mr. Frost, late Secretary to the Council of State."

"*April 15th.*—Letter to General Blake, that no more men be impressed from outward-bound merchant-ships, being of very much prejudice to the trade and shipping of the nation."

On the 6th of May, the parliament ordered, "That the business of the election of officers for the fleet, viz. vice-admiral and rear-admiral, be taken into consideration to-morrow in the afternoon; and the members of the council who are now in town are to be sent unto, and desired to be at the council at that time."

"*May 18th.*—That a letter be written to General Blake, to take notice to him of his letters to the council concerning the making choice of a vice-admiral and rear-admiral for the

fleet; and to let him know, that the council have ordered *blank commissions* to be drawn for the appointing of those officers, which commissions are to be filled up by him, upon conference had with the Lord General and Mr. Bond, who come instructed to him concerning that and other matters."

"19*th*.—Ordered, that Capt. Penn shall be vice-admiral for this summer's service, and that his commission be accordingly granted unto him.

"That Capt. (Major) Bourne shall be rear-admiral for this summer's service, &c."

"*The Council of State appointed by authority of Parliament,*

"*To Capt. William Penn, Vice-Admiral of the Fleet of the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England under the Command of General Blake, and Captain of the ship* Triumph.

"By virtue of an act of parliament, authorising us to execute the power belonging to the office of the Lord Admiral of England, we do constitute and appoint you to be vice-admiral of the fleet under the command of General Blake, and captain of the ship *Triumph*, for this summer's expedition. These are, therefore, to authorise you forthwith to repair on board the said ship, and to take the charge thereof, and of the place of vice-admiral of the said fleet accordingly; hereby willing and requiring the captains, commanders, and officers subordinate to you, to be obedient to your commands as their vice-admiral; and the lieutenant, master, and officers and company of the said ship, and every of them in their respective places, to behave themselves with due obedience unto you their captain; and you are likewise to observe and follow such orders and directions as you shall, from time to time, receive from this council, General Blake,

or whom he shall appoint, for the service of the parliament and commonwealth of England.

"Given, &c. 19th May, 1652.

(Signed) "HEN. VANE, President."[1]

Clarendon insinuates, that Penn owed his rise and advancement in the navy to the favour of Cromwell,[2] an insinuation which, as the reader will have seen, is utterly false: those were not times in which favour could so operate, and for such great trusts; nor did Penn stand in any private relation of friendship whatsoever to Cromwell. He owed his former appointments, and his present nomination to the vice-admiralty of the fleet, solely to his possessing, in an eminent degree, those professional qualifications for which Cromwell and Blake selected him, as soon as Cromwell had made the discovery, that it was indispensably necessary to have one sea-man, at least, at the head of the fleet, for managing sea-affairs, in the novelty of commencing a vigorous naval war against a powerful, skilful, and experienced naval enemy; and this is fully demonstrated, by the caution and consultation with which the final selection was preceded.

Same day.—"That it be recommended to the Lord General Cromwell, to give orders to such foot-officers in Kent as are with their men near the shore, that they be in such a posture, that if orders come from the general of the fleet, or vice-admiral, to that purpose, they may be ready to go on

[1] Books of the Council of State, MS., vol. vi. pp. 14, 71, 78, 85.

[2] Continuation of the Life, &c., vol. ii. p. 328.

board, and observe such orders as they shall receive from the said general, or vice-admiral; and also, that such other foot as are further off the coast may be drawn nearer, in order to the aforesaid service."

"That the captain of the *Tiger* (Capt. Peacock) be sent unto, and also the merchant-ships in the State's service plying towards the north, that they forthwith come into Yarmouth roads; and upon their arrival there, to give notice to the general of the fleet, and there to stay until further orders from the said general, or commander-in-chief in the Downs.

"Letter to Captain Moulton, at Portsmouth, to hasten the State's ships into the Downs.

"Letters to Captain Samuel Howett, commander of the *Foresight;* Captain John Taylor, commander of the *Laurel;* Captain Spatchurst, commander of the *Fortune* frigate; and Captain Phil. Holland, commander of the *Cygnet:*

'Whereas there is extraordinary occasion for the State's ship under your command to make her speedy repair into the Downs fleet, these are to require you forthwith to fall down to Gravesend, if you have men enough on board, &c.; and to advertise daily the general of the fleet, or the commander-in-chief in the Downs, how far you are on your way to the Downs; and you are to observe their orders, from time to time, about your repair thither, whither you are to hasten with all speed.'

"*20th.*—Lieut.-Colonel Kelsey dispatched to Dover, to give frequent intelligence to the council of what shall pass in the Downs betwixt the two fleets; and also to encourage the people of Sandwich to defend themselves.

"The Council of State being certified of a fight at sea, occasioned by a fleet of ships of war belonging to the States of the United Provinces against the ships of this commonwealth, by which action, (especially during the time of the treaty begun and continued by the lords ambassadors of the said States with the parliament, when the same could be

least suspected or justified :) the council doubting that many people, being thereby incensed, might make attempts of violence upon the persons of the said lords ambassadors, or any belonging unto them, have thought fit, for the prevention thereof, to order that some troops of horse be appointed to quarter near the house of the said lords ambassadors (at Chelsea), and to keep strict guard about the same, for their lordships' preservation and secure residence there."

"*24th.*—That Mr. Thurloe do prepare an extract of the several letters which have come to the council, giving an account of the fight between the Dutch fleet and the English fleet in the Downs, as also of that made by Capt. Young at Plymouth; and bring the same to the Committee of Foreign Affairs to-morrow morning, who are to sit for that purpose."

Letter from Captain Young.

"Right Honourable,

"As I was coming to the westward to take the command of the west guard, the 12th instant, off the Start, I descried a fleet of ships, about a dozen sail, coming from the southward, being admiral, vice, and rear in the fleet, so that I did conceive them to be Sir George Ascue's fleet; but I making sail off to them, found them a fleet of Hollanders come from Genoa and Leghorn: those three with flags were States' men-of-war, their convoyers; the others merchant-ships, some upwards of 30 guns, and some under; so I bore with the admiral, and did send to him by my master, that he should strike his flag, and did desire a right understanding might be between us before any blood was shed in the controversy. On this the admiral took in his flag, and put aboard a pendant. He said, he did belong to Amsterdam, but his name I know not; but the ship hath two wild men, or the like, in her stern, and some other things between them; she hath some 38 guns. So then, the vice-admiral came up with me with his flag aboard, being a ship of 42 guns; so I called

to persuade him to strike: he bid me come on board and strike it; so I sent my boat on board to persuade him to it, to prevent the loss of blood, if it might be; but he sent me word by my master he would not strike; so then, being fitted for it, I came up very near on the weather quarter; but before I fired, I called to the captain myself to take in his flag, but he said he would not; so then I commanded a broadside and a volley of small-shot to be fired on him, and I received the like from him again. Thus we passed some four or five broadsides each at other, though I was forced to be at some further distance from him than at first, I fearing the admiral would have laid me on board on the weather side; he having fitted his ship, and come up mainsail and all to gain the wind of me, forced me to keep the wind of him. Then Captain Reynolds being come up fair within shot of his weather-quarter, having fired six guns before at the rear-admiral as he came in amongst us, so he fired part of a broadside at the vice-admiral, just at that instant as he was taking in his flag: the *Recovery* being come up even within shot just as his flag was in, and the rear-admiral struck likewise. So I sent aboard the admiral, 'that I did demand 'the vice-admiral, either in his person or his ship, to carry 'into port, to make good what damage was done.' He told my master, he did not meddle in the least himself as yet, as long as it was only about striking the flag, the which, he said, was now taken in; but if I sought any further matter, as the surprisal of him or his ship, he was bound and would assist, she being the States' ship as well as he, not then knowing, or could take any notice of any further intentions. So I desired Captain Reynolds and Captain Chapman to come on board, to consult with me what further to do in it, it being near night; and it was the judgment of us all, not to proceed any further in it, the flag being taken in, by reason the treaty being between the nations at present, the case of breach of the peace might not be any way imputed on our part. I

have received some damage in my hull, sails, and rigging, the which I shall soon, God willing, get repaired again. I had one man even as good as killed outright, died since, and some four wounded, but I hope they will recover. For my own part, I bless God for it, I am very well: I do believe I gave him his bellyful of it; for he sent me word he had orders from the States, that if he struck he should lose his head; but at length he did strike, which makes me conceive he had enough of it.

"Your honours' humble servant at command,

"ANTH. YOUNG."

"*President*, Plymouth Sound, May 14, 1652."

Letter from General Blake.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I have dispatched away this express to your honours, to give you an account of what passed yesterday between us and the Dutch fleet. Being in Rye bay, I received intelligence from Major Bourne, that Van Tromp, with 40 sail, was off the South-sand-head; whereupon I made all possible speed to ply up towards them, and yesterday, in the morning, we saw them at anchor in and near Dover road. Being come within three leagues of them, they weighed, and stood away by a wind to the eastward; we supposing their intention was to leave us, to avoid the dispute of the flag. About two hours after, they altered their course, and bore directly with us, Van Tromp the headmost; whereupon we lay by, and put ourselves into a fighting posture, judging they had a resolution to engage. Being come within musket-shot, I gave order to fire at his flag, which was done thrice: after the third shot he let fly a broadside at us: Major Bourne, with those ships that came from the Downs, being eight, was then making towards us. We continued fighting till night;

then our ship being unable to sail, by reason that all our rigging and sails were extremely shattered, our mizen-mast shot off, we came, with advice of the captains, to an anchor about three or four leagues off the Ness, to refit our ship, at which we laboured all the night. This morning we espied the Dutch fleet about four leagues distance from ours, towards the coast of France, and, by advice of a council of war, it was resolved to ply to windward to keep the weather-gage; and we are now ready to let fall our anchor this tide. What course the Dutch fleet steers we do not well know, nor can we tell what harm we have done them; but we suppose one of them to be sunk, and another, of 30 guns, we have taken, with the captains of both; the main-mast of the first being shot by the board, and much water in the hold, made Captain Lawson's men to forsake her. We have six men of ours slain, and nine or ten desperately wounded, and twenty-five more not without danger; amongst them, our master and one of his mates, and other officers. We have received about seventy great shot in our hull and masts, in our sails and rigging without number, being engaged with the whole body of the fleet for the space of four hours; being the mark at which they aimed. We must needs acknowledge it a great mercy that we had no more harm, and our hope is, the righteous God will continue the same unto us, if there do arise a war between us; they being first in the breach, and seeking an occasion to quarrel, and watching, as it seems, an advantage to brave us upon our coast, &c.

" Your most humble servant,

" ROBERT BLAKE."

" From aboard the *James*, three leagues off the Hyde, the 20th of May, 1652."

" This," says the author of the Columna Rostrata, " was the prologue to the tragedy that was after-

" wards acted by the mightiest enemies that ever " sailed upon the sea."

Same day.—" That the council doth declare, that it is the pleasure of this council, that none of the members thereof do speak with the Heer Neuport, lately come from Holland, or hold any correspondence with him.

" That the paper now delivered to the council by the Dutch ambassadors, be reported to parliament to-morrow morning; together with the matter of fact of the fight between the two fleets in the Downs, and Capt. Young and the Dutch. Copy of Van Tromp's letter to the States (of Holland), and the Dutch ambassador's paper, to be sent to the lord-general and Mr. Bond; the like to General Blake."

Van Tromp's letter to the States of Holland laid the whole blame of this conflict on the English commanders, and the Dutch ambassadors addressed a letter to the Council of State, to enforce Van Tromp's statement. But the parliament rejected their explanation, and demanded full indemnification for the losses and charges the commonwealth had sustained; which demand being, in its turn, refused by the Dutch States, war immediately ensued.

" That a letter be sent to Major-general Deane (commanding the army in Scotland), to give him a narrative of what hath happened between the English and Dutch fleets; and to let him know, that the council conceive it will be necessary, in regard of the fishing which the Dutch have every year about Orkney and Shetland, and the fair they hold there, that some further forces should be sent thither: to desire him, therefore, to give order for the sending of such further forces thither as he shall judge fit to secure the place

from any attempts of the Dutch. And as to the business of Dunnotter Castle:[1] since he means that have been sent for the reasons it was to effect, to desire that he will use his best endeavours to strengthen it, and reduce it, on the best terms he can, to the commonwealth. To desire him, also, to acquaint himself with the nature of the harbours of Orkney and Shetland, whether or not it is possible for our ships to be defended by the forts there, in case they may have occasion at any time to come thither."

"That it be humbly represented to the parliament, that the council finds it necessary, upon consideration of the present state of affairs, that 40 sail of ships more than are already in the service of the commonwealth should be taken up, and have already given orders to that purpose.

"Warrants to the vice-admirals of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, Kent, Sussex, Hants: that, 'Whereas the fleet of this nation now at sea, have lately received some affront on our coast by the Dutch, who, as is conceived, will still persevere in opposition of the obedience they have always yielded, and are bound to observe, in our seas: and whereas the parliament of England have thought fit presently to prepare and set forth a considerable fleet of ships, to the number of forty, as an addition to those already out: the said vice-admirals are ordered to summon all mariners from fifteen to twenty years of age, acquainting them with the State's emergency of service: and withal, to press as many able seamen as they can possibly get, giving unto each man 12*d.*

[1] Dunnotter Castle, situate on the sea-coast of Mearns-shire, surrendered to *Col. Morgan* four days after this order, on the 26th May. (Heath, p. 313.) The regalia of Scotland, and other property of the Scottish crown, had been conveyed thither for security, it being (as Clarendon wrote to Secretary Nicholas, the 23d March, 1651-2) "a very strong place upon the sea, so that ships of "great burthen may come and ride under the walls." The governor had a vessel in readiness to transport the royal property to the king, in Holland, in the event of his being no longer able to maintain it.—CLARENDON, St. Papers, April 12th, 1652.

prest-money,[1] and 1½*d.* a mile conduct from the place where they shall be in."

"26*th.*—The Commissioners of the Navy ordered, in conformity of a requisition of General Blake, to look out for six ships fit for fire-ships.

"The Committee of Ordnance, to examine the state of ordnance in the thirty ships ordered to be prest into the State's service, and supply all deficiencies."

"27*th.*—The messenger who carried the council's despatch to Gen. Blake on Monday last, called to account for 'his making no more haste with the said despatch.'

"The disposing of the fleet for the summer's service, to be taken up to-morrow.

"Captains Thorowgood and Gibbs to be sent up, concerning their miscarriage upon the late engagement in the Downs.

"The mayor, jurates, and seamen of Dover, have their good affections acknowledged, on occasion of the late action; also, a letter of thanks to the mayor of Sandwich.

"Mr. Bond desired to acquaint the parliament of the zeal of the mayor and jurates of Dover, manifested in giving assistance to the fleet; and also of the seamen of that place, in their voluntary and cheerful going aboard the fleet before the engagement, and their faithful service there; and to recommend to the parliament the speedy advancing part of £4000, ordered for the repair of the pier of Dover, &c."

"28*th.*—The Committee of the Admiralty, to consider what is fit to be done with Sir George Ascue's ships, now come into Plymouth."

Sir George Ascue, after reducing Scilly from the king's to the parliament's authority, conjointly with Blake, had been sent with a fleet to the West Indies,

[1] Ready money, or money in hand, from the old French *prest*, or *prêt*; not unnaturally corrupted into *press-money*, and so given by Johnson.

where he further restored the islands of Barbadoes, Nevis, St. Christopher's, granting to all those places, and to the Lord Willoughby of Parham, the king's governor, to whom he restored a safe return to England, and enjoyment of his estate, more favourable terms than were satisfactory to the party of the Long-men commissioning the parliament.

"Dec. — Intelligence of sixty sail of Dutch ships having passed Yarmouth towards the Downs, communicated by the master of that place, ordered to be forwarded to General Blake."

"Dec. — Council agree orders to Gen. Blake, to send to Capt. Thurlingwood, and others, acquainting him that Capt. Young is removed from the Dragon to command the Warspite, and Capt. Jeffries into the Dragon; and desire frequent intelligence of the state of the fleet."

"Dec. 21. — The Commissioners of the Navy, to be made acquainted of Gen. Blake's complaint concerning his want of men.

"The Four Kempers to return to England."

Captain Penn, Vice-admiral, &c. to the Lord General Monck:

"June 26. 1682.

"May it please your Excellency,

"According to your commands, I have made inquiry into the qualifications of those officers of the fleet who have not formerly been known to me: and shall not fail to give your excellency an account of those men's miscarriages, who shall not here receive their reward.

"Mutton's Collection, &c.

"I could except against the commanders of some of the merchant-ships now in the service, were it a time seasonable; however, I humbly conceive, that when your affairs require taking up more, it will be much conducing to the public, that respect be wholly and merely had to the capacity of the ships for the employment, and of the men that command them; and that self-interest be wholly cast aside.

"My lord, it is humbly conceived, that the State would be far better served, if, as formerly, they placed commanders in all the merchant-ships so taken up; for, the commanders now employed being all part-owners of their ships (and fearing some not so clearly conscientious as they should be), I do believe will not be so industrious in taking an enemy as other men; especially considering, that by engagement they not only waste their powder and shot, but are liable to receive damage in their masts, sails, rigging, and hull, and endanger the loss of all, when they may be quiet, and receive the same pay. If they should be oppressed, and forced, it is supposed they will fight for preservation and safety of their ships; which any one the State shall think fit to employ would perform, and, I presume, upon better principles.

"I perceive the Council of State hath sent for Captain Thorowgood and Captain Gibbs, concerning whom I have not much to say, being a stranger to them both; and the less, in regard it pleased God I should be absent[1] at the late engagement. This day I heard the business examined, which, according to the evidence given, is not so bad on Thorowgood's part as was supposed. The papers are sent to the Council of State, where I presume your excellency will have the perusal of them.

"In the paper I gave your excellency, among other things that were thought necessary and conducing to the public service, we desired that lieutenants might be allowed and placed in all ships carrying a hundred and fifty men;[1] which

[1] See Appendix M.

I humbly make bold to remind you of, as a business of great advantage to the service. And if the charge of it be objected, it may be answered, that by the taking of one man from each ship that shall have these lieutenants (which man's victuals and wages is 1*s.* 4*d.* *per diem*), the lieutenant receiving as common pay, which is 8*d.* *per diem*, makes him 2*s.*; and, truly, 'tis a sad lieutenant that's not worth two common men in time of action.

"My lord, I find the most, and indeed those that are best principled and most conscientious of our commanders, do much desire some information of the justness of our quarrel with the Hollander, which they do not in the least doubt of; yet I find them somewhat troubled and dejected for their ignorance in that point. This I humbly thought fit to signify unto your excellency, in obedience to those commands laid upon,

"Your excellency's most faithful humble servant,

"From aboard the *Triumph* in the Downs, June 2d, 1652,

"W. P."

"These are humbly presented to your excellency."

It appears from the following list that, soon after the date of this letter, Penn quitted the *Triumph* for the *James*.

"*A List of the Parliament's Fleet now upon the Coast of Holland, June* 1652.

		Guns.
Resolution ...	Col. Rob. Blake, general of the navy	68
James	Capt. Penn, vice-admiral	60
Andrew	Major Bourne, rear-admiral	60
Triumph	Capt. Blake	68
Victory.....	Mann	60
Rainbow	Sir G. Ascue	62
Fairfax	Lawson	62
Speaker	Coppin	62
Garland	Osborn (Batten)	48

		Guns.
Diamond		42
Ruby	Capt. Houlding	42
Worcester	Young	42
Dragon	Stokes	42
Tiger	Peacock	40
Adventure	Ball	40
Assurance	Sanders	40
Saphire	Moulton	30
Nightingale	Reynolds	26
Mermaid	Stayner	22
Convertine		46
Convert		24
Star	Capt. Moulton	24
Cygnet	Holland	24
Old Warwick	Day	28
Revenge		36
Thunder frigate		22
Centurion		40
Primrose		14
Weymouth		14
Lilly		12
Vanguard	Capt. Haddock	46
Portsmouth frigate		46
Nonsuch	Capt. Mildmay	40
Pelican		42
Foresight		42
Lion	Capt. Saltanstall	42
The 10 *Whelps*, in each		30

The Royal Sovereign, alias the *Commonwealth*, is putting forth to sea, being new caulked, tallowed, and rigged. She is taken one deck lower, and hath 100 brass guns in her. She is an excellent swift sailer, notwithstanding the greatness of her burden, and carries 1400 men.

MERCHANT-SHIPS.

Hanibal	Capt. Tatum	32
Prosperous		40
Hercules		34
Charles		32
Giles		32
Society		40
Elizabeth		40
London Mary		40

A further List of the Names of the Parliament's Navy for the present Expedition against the Hollander.

	Guns.		Guns.
The Royal Sovereign, Capt. Lord	92	Pearl frigate	28
St. George	62	Fortune, Capt. Hewett	34
Centurion	60	Assistance, Bourne	34
Happy Entrance	46	Gilly-flower	32
Laurel frigate, Capt. Taylor	46	Middleburgh	30
Prudent frigate, Capt. Graves	42	Rotterdam	27
Kentish frigate	36	Tresaunce	18
Sussex frigate	36	Merlin	18
Antelope, Capt. Deakins	40	Drake	18
Assistance	40	Greyhound	14
Cuckoo frigate	40	Hare	14
Amity frigate	40	Lady	14
Worcester	40	Parrot frigate	14
Hunter frigate	40	Lapis frigate	14
French frigate	64	Gallias frigate	14
Swan frigate	30	Roseknot	14

MERCHANT-SHIPS HIRED BY THE STATE OF ENGLAND.

	Guns.
Hamburgh	40
William and Jane	40
America	36
With 15 other ships, each carrying	40

"The whole fleet is to consist of 250 sail, besides 14 fire-ships: 30 sail to go forthwith to the West Channel to clear the seas; 30 for the Straits; 20 for the North; and the rest to fight the enemy."

"*June 7th.*—That the laws and ordinances of war for the ordering of the fleet, which have been this day read to the council, be referred to the Committee of the Admiralty, who are to inform themselves what hath been done in parliament concerning the establishing of the laws; and report to the Council of State of the business, with all convenient speed."

" Letter to Sir G. Ascue, to let him know he may bring about with him (to the Downs) the ships that are at Plymouth."

" Letter to General Blake, desiring him to send up to the council a perfect list of the fleet now with him in the Downs; as the list he sent up makes the number about 55, whereas that sent by an officer renders it only about 42.

" To consider of Sir G. Ascue being commander of the fleet that is to go northward."

" 8*th*.—The council acknowledges General Blake's letter of the 7th, of the willingness and unanimity of the officers of the fleet to the public service."

" 10*th*.—That in the letter to be written to General Blake, a clause be inserted, ' to take notice from the parliament of the good service done by Captain Peacock, in the late fight he made in the *Tiger* frigate against two Dutch men-of-war.' "

" 14*th*.—The Commissioners of the Customs ordered to secure such Dutch ships as shall from time to time be sent up unto them; by taking away their sails, taking off their rudders, and spiking their decks, &c.

" All ships in the Sound to rendezvous at Elsinore, and wait till they receive convoy from General Blake.

" The *Vanguard*, *Success*, and *Pelican*, ordered to sail to the Downs, and receive orders from Sir G. Ascue, until further orders from the council."

Letter from General Blake to a Member of the Council of State.[1]

" Sir,

" I have received yours of the 16th instant, together with the inclosed intelligence, for which I return you my hearty

[1] From the original in Blake's hand-writing, among Sir W. Penn's papers.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

"25*th*.—That it be referred to the Committee for Law and Examinations to prepare a Declaration (in pursuance of the order of parliament, referring it to the Council to prepare a Declaration) for asserting 'the right of this nation to the 'sovereignty of the sea, and the fishery,' and to bring it into the council with all convenient speed.

"26*th*.—That it be referred to the Committee for Foreign Affairs, to take orders for the printing of the book called *Mare Clausum;* and that Mr. Du Guard be commanded to print the same."

"*July* 3*d*.—Letters, that General Blake, with a gallant fleet, went northwards, and left Sir G. Ascue to command the rest of the fleet in the Downs, who took five Dutch merchant-men; and General Blake took two men-of-war and two merchant-men: 500 soldiers sent on board Sir G. Ascue. That after this, Sir G. Ascue and the fleet with him met 40 Dutch ships, took seven of them, and burnt three; and about 24 of them ran on ground on the French shore, and he pursued the rest: and this fight was gallantly performed by him, after so long a voyage which his ships had gone, and were very foul."

"9*th*.—Letters, that General Blake, with a fleet of 60 sail, passed in sight of Dunbar towards the north, to attend the Holland (*herring*) *busses;* and sent for the frigates and parliament's vessels in those parts, who went to him."

"That a letter be written to Sir G. Ascue, to let him know the council have received his letter; and notwithstanding the present extremities which are now upon him, the council do hope that God will bless him with good success.

"That a letter be written to the Lord General, to desire him to quarter a troop of horse at Deal, a considerable Dutch fleet (under Van Tromp) being upon the coast of Kent.

"Additional Instructions to Colonel Thomson, Mr. Scott, and Colonel Dixwell; viz.

"1. The council having heard this evening, of a fleet of Hollanders that may interpose between the ships to be hastened from the river to the Downs, and Sir G. Ascue, give discretion to the said commanders how to deal with the said ships.

"2. They are to reside where they can best communicate with all the ships.

"3. Colonel Dixwell is empowered to raise part of the county of Kent, if necessary, for the defence of the coast.

"4. To advertise the council frequently."

"11*th*.—That a letter be written to Gen. Blake, to give him notice of the appearance of the Dutch fleet, being 102 men-of-war and 10 fire-ships, and are every day in sight of the fleet with Sir G. Ascue: that they are divided into three squadrons: that Sir G. Ascue intends to put his fleet, being 14 or 16 sail, under the protection of the castle (Dover); that the ships under Captain Harrison are in Lee road, staid for the completing of their men, that they may the better make their conjunction with Sir G. Ascue."

"12*th*.—From Yarmouth, that the Hollanders have 180 *busses* at sea, and men-of-war for their guard; that General Blake was near them.[1] That Van Tromp was seen in the Downs with about 100 sail of ships, nearer to Sir George Ascue."

"13*th*.—That the Dutch appeared with a fleet of 102 sail of ships, and 10 fire-ships, near Sir G. Ascue, intending to intercept some ships coming to him out of the river, to whom Sir George sent to stay there. That a squadron of 40 of the Dutch ships came to Sir George within a league of him. That two platforms were planted by Deal Castle, to fall

[1] Of these, some of his frigates, after a severe conflict, captured about 100, and 1500 men, together with the 12 frigates sent to guard them; but, on the toll of every tenth herring, grossly computed, being paid, Blake sent the vessels, with the men, back to Holland, under a charge of fishing there no more, without English leave. HEATH, p. 322; COLLIBER, p. 99.

upon the enemy if they came near; but, upon changing of the wind (to the S.W.), they all steered away (for Holland)."

"20*th*.—Instructions to Sir G. Ascue, knt., appointed to command the fleet designed for the present guard of the Channel, and of those seas:

"1. To secure the homeward-bound English trade from the southward, especially from the Indies, the Straits, Guinea, Spain, Portugal, &c., and to send ships to ply off the Land's-end and Scilly.

"2. To take and seize all ships and vessels belonging to the United Provinces, or any of the people thereof.

"3. To take, seize, and secure, in like manner, all ships belonging to the French; except those licensed by the council to trade between Dieppe and Rye, and the French fishermen who usually fish, in small vessels or boats, on the coasts of France, Sussex, and Kent, who are not to be molested in their said employment."

"*August* 3*d*.—Letter to Sir G. Ascue, to acquaint him with the intelligence received, both regarding General Blake, and the coming of some Dutch ships towards him (Sir George).

"Letter to Sir G. Ascue, inclosing copy of a letter from General Blake received this morning: letting him know the council believe General Blake knows not of what ships of the enemy are moving towards him; and desiring him, therefore, to observe the orders he has already received from the parliament or council."

"15*th*.—That a letter be written to General Blake, to let him know what intelligence the council have received this day concerning the motions of the Dutch fleet westward; and that he make all possible speed with the fleet (back) into the Channel, to find out the Dutch fleet."

"While Van Tromp's fleet (says Heath) was "now rigging and fitting out, another fleet of fifty

" men-of-war (under De Ruyter) set to sea, to go
" westward, and convoyed a fleet of merchantmen
" the same way where Sir G. Ascue's station was,
" about Plymouth; advertisement whereof being
" given, it was resolved that Sir George, with his
" fleet of forty men-of-war, most merchantmen ex-
" cept the flag-ships, should stretch over to the coast
" of France to meet them. Accordingly, on the 16th
" of August, between one and two of the clock in
" the afternoon, they got sight of the enemy, who
" quitted their merchantmen, being fifty in number.
" About four the fight began, the English admiral,
" with nine others, charging through their fleet; but
" received most damage in the shrouds, masts, sails,
" and rigging, which was repaid the Dutch in their
" hulls. Sir George having thus passed through
" them, got the weather-gage, and charged them
" again; but all his fleet not coming up, and the
" night already entered, they parted with a drawn
" battle. Captain Peck, the rear-admiral, lost his
" leg, whereof he soon after died; several captains
" were wounded, but no ship lost, only some shat-
" tered and torn. Of the Dutch, not one was said
" to be lost; though many of them shot through and
" through, but so that they were able to proceed in
" their voyage, and anchored the next day after,
" being followed by the English, at the Isle of Bassa
" (*Isle de Bas*); but no further attempt was made
" by our fleet, by reason, as 'twas pretended, of the
" danger of the French coast, from whence they
" returned to Plymouth Sound to mend and repair

"their damage."[1] De Ruyter afterwards effected his junction with De Witt, who had been sent with another fleet to bring him home through the Channel, with the merchantmen under his convoy.

"21*st*.—Instructions to Captain Read, commander of the ship *Sovereign*, upon his going to the Downs: to repair forthwith into the Downs with the *Sovereign*, and the other ships appointed, by an order of the 20th instant, to go in company with him; and to observe such orders as he shall receive, from time to time, from the Parliament, the Council of State, General Blake, or Sir G. Ascue; and, upon his arrival in the Downs, to give notice thereof to the council, and General Blake."

"22*d*.—That a letter be written to General Blake, to let him know, that the engagement of Sir G. Ascue's fleet with the Dutch is over for the present; to desire that he will, out of the fleet now with him, dispatch to Sir G. Ascue six or eight[2] good frigates, whereby he may be enabled by himself

[1] Page 323.

[2] The author of the Columna Rostrata, who was not apprised of this order of the Council of State, says: "Scorning to take advantage of his numbers, "Blake detached eight of his ships," &c. (p. 99). This, and other Quixotisms ascribed to Blake, whose judgment equalled his valour, are some of the fictions of that inventive and credulous age, of which I have already given a signal example at pp. 383, 4, *note*. Of these, I shall further notice that wild tale, so long retained, which rests only on idle rumour, and is inapplicable to the real character of Blake; but was suggested to the inventor's fancy, by a mistaken apprehension of the nature of his courage. It is thus related in WHITELOCK, January 16th, 1650: "Letters, that Blake sent in four prizes; "one was a French man-of-war, with 40 copper guns, whose captain being "commanded on board by General Blake, he asked him if he was willing to "lay down his sword? The captain answered, No. Then Blake bid him "return to his ship, and fight it out as long as he was able; which he did, "and after two hours' fight he came in and submitted, and, kissing his sword, "delivered it to Blake, who sent him and his ship with the rest into England."

to re-encounter that fleet, in case he can find it out. To let him know, that Tromp's fleet is in preparation to come forth again; to desire him, therefore, to come back again towards the coast of Holland, to attend his coming out; and to let him know, that the *Sovereign*,[1] and the rest of the ships that are come out of the river of Thames, are to join with his fleet."

"29*th*.—Letters to the council from Capt. Penn, of his taking six Dutch Strait's-men, most richly laden, (one of them of 30 guns,) worth above £200,000."

"*Sept*. 7*th*.—The parliament moved to consider the draught of an act for calling home all English seamen who are in the service of foreign states and princes; the council finding it (upon the intelligence which they have received

It was Blake's order, to capture French ships; and he knew, that the captain commanded on board him, became, from that moment, the prisoner of his employers, as his ship became their prize. Blake was utterly incapable of madly converting this capture, once effected, into a needless scene of blood and misery: his reason would plainly have seen, that he could derive from it no applause but among fools, and must draw on himself the reproach and condemnation not only of his employers, but of all the world, by the wanton sacrifice and waste of life which it must have occasioned. There is no feature of Blake's mind (who well knew the proper seasons for the exercise of his valour) in this absurd fiction; but it is deeply stamped with the romantic and barbarous imagination of the times.

[1] Of this ship, Evelyn's Diary has these notices: "*July* 16*th*, 1641.—On the "19th, we rode to Rochester and Chatham to see the *Soveraign*, a monstrous "vessel so called, being for burthen, defence, and ornament, the richest that "ever spread cloth before the wind; and especially for this remarkable, that "her building cost his majesty the affections of his subjects, who quarrelled "with him for a trifle, refusing to contribute either to their own safety or his "glory." (Vol. i. p. 10, 4to.)—"*Feb*. 2*d*, 1696.—The *Royal Sovereign* man-"of-war was burnt at Chatham. It was built in 1637; and, having given "occasion to the levy of ship-money, was perhaps the cause of all the after-"troubles to this day."—(Ibid. vol. ii. p. 50.)

"*Sovereign*. Built at Woolwich, 1637. Length of keel, 127 ft.; breadth "by beam, 48; depth of hold, 19·4 in.; depth of water, 22; tons, 1556. War, "men 815; guns 100."—(Reg. of R. Navy, PEPYS's MSS. Bodl.)

from foreign parts) of very great concernment to the service of the commonwealth."

"12*th*.—Gen. Blake informed of intelligence from Deal and Dover, of a Dutch fleet appearing on the back-side of the South-Sand head (coast of Holland).—Similar notice to Sir George Ascue."

"13*th*.—The Commissioners of the Navy to inspect the Dutch and French ships of war taken, and to report how many of them may be fit to be set out as men-of-war for this winter's guard, that some of the merchant-ships may be discharged. Also, how many of the above ships may be set out for the next summer's guard.

"That the Governor of Dover do take care, that the Dutch and French prizes may be secured, lest the Dutch fleet should any way attempt to seize them."

"20*th*.—That the provision of victuals for the next summer's guard, for 16,000 men, be made for the said number of men, and at the respective ports following: viz.

London	8,000
Portsmouth	4,000
Dover	500
Plymouth	1,000
Kinsale	500
Ipswich and Harwich	1,000
Hull	1,000
	16,000"

"*Oct*. 2*d*.—Letters, (says Whitelock) that the English and Dutch were in fight near the Downs."

"5*th*.—Letters of the last engagement with the Dutch."[1]

Whitelock gives an abstract of the intelligence transmitted by those letters; a large portion of which abstract, it will be seen, is taken verbatim from the

[1] Pages 545, 546.

second of the following communications from Vice-Admiral Penn. I shall here give both the documents, detailing the particulars of the vice-admiral's squadron, from the time of its separation from the general, (who, after his return from the north, had proceeded westward with his fleet, to bring round the Plymouth fleet,) until their reunion, and victory over De Witt, off the North Foreland; to which I shall add, Blake's letter to the Council of State on the latter occasion.

Vice-Admiral PENN'S *account of Occurrences, from the* 15*th to the* 18*th September*, 1652.[1]

"*Sept.* 15*th.*—About five in the morning (having lain a-try all night), we set our foresail and two topsails, the wind at W. by N. About nine, we made the Bolt,[2] which bore N. by E. seven leagues off. About ten, Capt. Mildmay bore under our stern, and told me the general was near the shore to leeward. We were not certain we saw him all night, it being dark before he cast to the southward. I sent Capt. Mildmay to leeward, to tell Capt. Saltanstall, commander of the *Lion*, that I desired he would keep near, and not lose us, for that we had but two days' beer in the ship. The *Portsmouth* I sent to the rear-admiral, who was about a mile astern, to let him know I had a desire to speak with him; which, indeed, was to consult what was best to be done, the general and all the fleet, save about fifteen of us, being (as we supposed) borne up for Torbay. My own resolution was, to keep sea so long as I could with safety, in respect of my want of beer; and, in case I had a slatch of weather, to get some

[1] This, and the following, are from the originals in Sir W. Penn's handwriting.

[2] Near Salcomb, coast of Devon.

from any other ships, till I received commands from the general. Towards noon, we saw two ships about four miles in the wind of us; one we made to be a fly-boat; both with Holland's ensigns. They fired several guns; two or three we could plainly distinguish by their smoke. Our men at topmast-head discovered a fleet of ships, to windward of them about five miles. The rear-admiral presently bore under my stern, and told me he would come aboard; to which purpose, we hauled our foresail to the mast. With him came his brother, Capt. John Bourne, commander of the *Assistance*, and soon after Capt. John Coppin, of the *Speaker*. They desired I would fire a gun, and put abroad a flag of council; which I did, not so much to determine what to do (being resolved, by the assistance of God, and in his strength, to engage them, and to use what means I could to bring them thereunto), as to keep these from bearing up to the general in Torbay (where we supposed he was); and to let them know it was the Dutch fleet we saw to windward, which many of them were ignorant of. Notwithstanding, I was unwilling; lest any dirty mouth should say I called for council whether I should fight or no. But at last they prevailed, the gun was fired, and the flag hanged on the mizen-shrouds. I sent Capt. Howett in the *Foresight*, and Capt. Graves in the *President*, frigates, to ply to windward, to discover them, and bring intelligence. I dispatched Berry in a ketch, presently, with a letter to the general at Torbay; to let him know our present condition, and what my resolutions were. There came aboard me, old Capt. Haddock in the *Vanguard*, Capt. Ben. Blake in the *Triumph*, Capt. Mildmay in the *Nonsuch*, Capt. Batten of the *Garland*, Capt. Houlding of the *Ruby;* and two captains of merchant-ships that were of Sir George Ascue's squadron, whose names or ships I know not. I told them, it was the Dutch fleet they saw to windward, and that I was resolved to use all means I could to bring them to engage us, it being in their choice, they having the wind; to which our commanders shewed a

great deal of willingness. I desired, in case they would not come to engage us to-night, by reason of the gusty stormy weather; to the end they might keep us company, that we might all keep abroad very good lights: and if I chanced to tack in the night, I and the rear-admiral would shew more lights than ordinary, and fire two guns apiece: for, if they had a mind to avoid us, all the reason in man could not help it; they having the wind, the weather beginning to prove thick, and the moon not to rise till after midnight. But, indeed, I did not question their seeking to engage us, being, in sight, near three to one; our people telling, some thirty-six, some forty sail, some whereof we discovered to be very proper ships; and I am confident they could not see above fourteen of ours, several being near the shore; but, at last, we were eighteen or twenty sail, with the merchant-men and our fire-ships. By half-past two, the captains were all got on board their own ships. We laid our ships' heads to the offing, hauled up our head-sails, and kept our after-sails abroad, that we might drive no more than of necessity, and that they might the sooner come up with us; it being thought inconvenient either to sail or tack, for that thereby we could not near them, and the weather so thick that sometimes we could not see them; and withal, it might have been said, we made way for them. Besides, most of our fleet was almost out of sight astern. About half-past three, the *Foresight* and *President* frigates returned; the last to the rear-admiral, being of his squadron, and the first being of mine to me; who said, there was about forty sail. About the same time, Capt. Day, of the *Warwick*, bore up from the windward, and told us he saw between thirty-five and forty sail. Before four o'clock, they hauled up their sails, and clapt upon a wind between three and four miles to windward of us; and immediately it fell so thick we could not discern them, and very much wind. We waited for a clear, to discover which way they went, and what they did; but seeing it likely to continue thick, and much

wind, we set our three courses, and stood off close upon a wind. About five o'clock, half an hour after, the rear-admiral lowered his fore-yard, and fired a gun, thereby to give notice of somewhat amiss, and that we might not leave him; so we presently hauled up our foresail, and laid it aback. The Start then bore N. about four leagues off. It proved very stormy, much rain, with dark weather; the wind at S.W. by S., having been between that and S.W. by W. all day. Before midnight, it began to clear up, and the wind came to the west, a very stiff gale. All this while we could not see the rear-admiral come up, which made us fear he had sprung his fore-yard. About midnight, I set sail and stood off. Half an hour after, we saw several guns fired in several places on our weather quarter, which made me doubt they had fallen in upon some of our stragglers. I presently fired two guns, put abroad several lights, and cast about to come for their relief. This shooting continued not in our sight a quarter of an hour; and, to our judgment, we lay up to the point of the compass we saw the guns fired.

"16*th.*—We stood in until daylight, but could discover no more firing. At daylight, we saw twelve sail to windward, under the Start point. We made what sail we could to stand with them, and they bore up to us. About eight in the morning, Capt. John Taylor, in the *Laurel*, bore under our stern, and told me the general sent him, with the others, from Torbay unto me, viz. the *Worcester*, *Diamond*, *Pelican*, *Saphire;* the *Hound*, and *Falmouth* frigate, both Dutch prizes; and the *Paradox;* the rest came not near us, nor do I know them. About this time, Capt. Sanders, in the *Assurance*, bore under our stern, and told me, it was he that fired the guns the last night; and that he would come aboard, and give an account of it. To which end I muzzled our ship, and he presently came, whose relation was: that about midnight came to the northward of him, a lusty ship steering away to

the eastward: he fired two guns to make her stay, but they would not: upon which, Sanders hove out his fore-topsail, and presently came up with him: asked him, whence his ship? he answered, of Flushing: Sanders bid him amain for the commonwealth of England, who answered very uncivilly; upon which they began to fire at each other, and continued till Sanders had lost sight of all our lights, being about an hour, and so left the Flemming, who all the time of the fight steered somewhat a southerly course: and about the time Sanders left him, he saw to the southward of them several lights, and he was certain of one whereof had a light in his main-top; all which he plainly perceived to steer away to the eastward, and was confident it was the Holland's fleet, who made use of the darkness of the first part of the night to pass by us; which, with what Capt. Anthony Young, commander of the *Worcester* (being present) related, fastened a belief of it in me; though I could scarce imagine they would have been so poor and low spirited. But 'the hearts of all men are in the hands of the Lord, and he turneth them as the rivers of waters;' and, truly, 'His ways are past finding out.' And, as I am persuaded the good of God's people is much concerned in our present employment, so He knoweth (considering the accidents that happened), I casted with the best of my reason and judgment to meet them. But the promises of the Lord are, 'Yea and amen;' one of which is, that all shall turn for the best to those that fear and serve Him, which makes me desire to rest satisfied in His pleasure.

"Capt. Young's relation was: that with our general are some Scotch and English, formerly taken by this Holland's fleet, and lately retaken in the vessel surprised the 12th inst. by the *Pearl;* who aver, the whole fleet had not then eight days' victuals. Captain Young, nor any other, brought me any written order from the general; but that, if we saw not the Dutch fleet, to ply in for Torbay, but not to be put to the

eastward of Portland road. We stood in till past nine, to meet some of our ships which were astern; when we cast about to the southward, in hopes to discover the Dutch fleet, if they were not borne to leeward. Upon Capt. Sander's relation, I spoke somewhat in order to follow them, but was presently convinced it was irrational, and in me unanswerable. About this time, Capt. Golding, in the *Hound*, commanded (*i. e.* took) a Holland's vessel; what she was, as yet I know not; and about four, afternoon, (discovering nothing) we cast in to the northward, at which time the Start bore N.W. by W., eleven leagues off. At eight, the Start bore W. by N., about nine leagues off: it had been a stiff gale at W. all day, with gusts, but then it was much wind at S.W. by W., and promised more. We hauled up our foresail, and tryed in to the northward, intending, if we saw nothing on the morrow, to get into Portland road, being past hopes of fetching Torbay if the wind continued westerly; nor would our beer hold out longer, by the cooper's account to me. At midnight, it proved little wind.

" 17*th.*—Before four in the morning, a fine gale sprung up at N.N.W. A little after, we set our sails, and stood to the westward, hoping to get up to the general in Torbay. About nine, we spake with Capt. Deakins, in the *Advice*, who told us he came out of Torbay, and that the general was there. We saw no ships but our own, save two with Swede's colours, which some of our frigates spoke with. At ten, we stood in; the Start then bearing N.W. by N., four leagues off. About six at night, we anchored; the Berry (head) bore N., three leagues off. A stiff gale at N.W. and N.W. by N. all day.

" 18*th.*—Towards four in the morning, we weighed; and about six, Capt. Reynolds, in the *Nightingale*, bore under our stern, and told me he had brought some of our men from Dover. About ten, we saw the general and several of the fleet under sail, coming out of Torbay. About eleven, Capt. Golding came

aboard, and brought the skipper of the ship he took on Thursday morning; whose examination I presently took. His name was Martin Martinson, his ship of Horn, called the *Old Man*, burthen 300 tons, 12 guns, laden with salt and ten tons of cork. He came from Cadiz, in Spain, about five weeks since, with six ships more, which he lost in a storm on Monday night, thirty leagues to the westward of Scilly; five of them were Flushingers, whose lading he knows not, the other was an Amsterdammer, come from Smyrna, with silks, &c.: touched at Cadiz for company, all bound home. He saw no ship but his consorts since he came from Cadiz, where he left but one English ship; he knows not her name, but she was a merchant-ship. Before four, I was aboard the general, two leagues without Torbay.

"This is an exact account of the occurrences since my parting from the general, according to my best memory.

"W. PENN."

"Honoured Countryman,

"My last to you was on the 26th. The 27th proved foul weather, till the afternoon.

"*Sept. 28th.*—Early in the morning, the general, with the fleet, got under sail; a fresh gale at W. by N. About noon, we discovered the Holland's fleet. About three in the afternoon, our general having not above three of his own squadron up with him (the rest of our fleet being between a league and two astern), and I, with most of my squadron, being near him, I sent Capt. Reynolds, in the *Nightingale*, to know of the general, 'if I should leave him, and bear in amongst the enemy with my squadron;' but presently the general coming by the lee, not twice-shot from the Dutch fleet (who likewise drove with theirs), and being waived by the general, I bore up under his stern, and asked the question

myself. They answered, 'So soon as some more of our fleet came up, we should all bear in amongst them.' We ran a fair birth ahead of our general, to give room for my squadron to be between him and us. In this time, De Witt, who commanded the Dutch fleet (consisting of about fifty-nine sail of men-of-war, and some small vessels), left his own ship of 40 guns, and went aboard the biggest of the India ships, of 56 guns, where he wore the flag; his own ship taking it in. Tromp's ship, the *Bredrode* was in the fleet; but the men in her would not receive De Witt. About four, most of our fleet being come near, our general bore in amongst them. We presently filled to bear after him; but it pleased God, the disposer of all things, to disappoint us, being aground upon a sand, supposed the Kentish-knock.[1] It was reasonable smooth, and, for my part, I did not feel her strike, the master and others said they did; but the man that hove the lead overboard said we had not three fathom water, by which account it was too true. The *Sovereign* was near musket-shot without us, and struck several times. The goodness of God was eminent to us in this particular, for hereby we were forced to tack our ship to clear ourselves of the sand: and, indeed, it fell out better for doing execution upon the enemy, than we could have cast it ourselves; for, as the Dutch fleet cleared themselves of our general, he standing to the northward, and they to the southward, we fell patt to receive them, and so stayed by them till the night caused our separation. What damage we did them, cannot be exactly known; blessed be the Lord, what they did us was not much. We had two men killed, another past hopes, and about five hurt; all our masts, except the mizen, very badly shot; our hull, sails, rigging, and gear (as usual in such cases), somewhat shattered. As to our car-

[1] "A small sand, about S. by W. from the east end of the Long-sand at the mouth of the Thames."—MALHAM's Naval Gazetteer.

riage in this engagement, I cannot say much. The Dutch, in my judgment, did flag very much in the latter part of it; and I do really believe (through the mercy of God) they could not have stood it out one hour longer. And, truly, the business looked so handsomely by their rants in firing at us when our general stayed for the coming up of the fleet, that it was believed that God, by hardening their hearts, had fitted them for a greater destruction. All night we could see their lights plain, a small distance to leeward of us; which made us believe, they wished to engage us the next morning. Being little wind, and various, we drove with our lights abroad.

"29*th*.—As the day broke, we saw the Dutch fleet N.E. early, more than two leagues from us. We bore upon them all the forenoon, having little wind, and various. They seemed to stay for us. About one, afternoon, sprung up a fresh gale of wind northerly, by which means they had the wind of us. Our general perceiving (that) their spirits declined, by their making no great haste in their way towards us, commanded our frigates to ply up so near them as they could, and keep firing at them; while the rest of us did our best to get near them. About three, some of our frigates got within shot, and much powder and shot was spent on each side, it continuing till night; but, I think, to little purpose. At which time, three afternoon, the Dutch fleet set their mainsails, and what else they could, to get away from us, standing towards their own shore. About the shutting in of the evening, our general tacked to the westward. This night we did not keep sight of them.

"30*th*.—In the morning daylight, they were as far as we could discern them at topmast-head. We all bore after them, having a fine gale at S.W. Before nine, the general sent for me to come to him, as also for the rear-admiral: the general hauled up his sails, and staid for us. There we found Capt. Read, of the *Sovereign*, and about twenty commanders; most

whereof came to let the general know, they had not three days' victuals, some less. These commanders were all called into the cabin for advice, where it was concluded, for several reasons, not to run farther on the Holland coast; the Maes being then E.S.E. about twelve leagues off, whither (it was conceived) they were steering: indeed, they did but play with us yesterday, to draw us on their coast. Our general called off some frigates that were chasing ahead, and made sail towards the Downs, or some convenient place to get a recruit of victuals; which we are still endeavouring.

"Now I shall tell you what damage, visibly, we did them in the engagement. One of my squadron, Capt. John Mildmay in the *Nonsuch*, took a fly-boat of near 500 tons, with 30 pieces of ordnance; and, presently after, took possession of another frigate of 30 guns, 12 whereof brass, who had all her masts shot by the board, and lay like a wreck in the sea. This he was forced to quit again about midnight, being droven to leeward near the Holland's fleet. He took the Hollanders out of her, and suffered her to sink, she being very leaky. On board the fly-boat he had De Witt's rear-admiral, who quitted his frigate (that had in her two brass guns); but also, in the other's condition, without masts. On Tuesday, before we engaged, we told 59 sail, besides small vessels; and the next morning could not tell above 52, two whereof without bolt-sprits. In the morning, betimes, we saw one ship without masts in the midst of their fleet; which was presently after sunk. Ruyter, with 17 of the best ships that were with him to the westward, were joined to De Witt, to make up this fleet; the rest are victualling. The admiral, vice, and rear-admiral of each fleet, wore their flags. The three captains on board Captain Mildmay conclude De Witt killed, for otherwise (they say) he durst not have gone so away. The East Indiaman he fought in, had no flag the next morning; his own ship had. The captain of that fly-boat was one of Ruyter's fleet when he gave us the go-by in

the night[1] to the westward; and hath told me, how they endeavoured it.

"Thus you have, in brief, God's dealings towards us; and wherein I have been too short, the bearer, Captain Harman,[2] can exemplify, being an ingenuous, honest man. I formerly writ to you concerning him. The general having appointed him (upon my score) commander of the *Arms of Medenblick*, one of the prizes we took, I do again desire you will further him in it, all you may; for, it will be good service to the State, to further such men as indeed he is.

"Sir, I desire, so soon as you please, to hear from you; in the mean time, I remain

Your very affectionate friend and servant,

WILLIAM PENN.

"*James*, in Margate Roads, Oct. 2d, 1652."

"For my worthy friend,
George Bishop, Esq.
These:
Whitehall."

General Blake to the Council of State.[3]

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"My last to your honours was the 28th of the last, in the morning. About noon that day, we got sight of the Dutch fleet standing close by a wind to the westward; the wind then at S.W. Between three and four in the afternoon they

[1] "De Witt," says Heath, "came in sight of the English fleet near Torbay, "with the wind almost in his teeth; but it proving thick and hazy weather, "by the obscurity thereof he slipped and made aboard to the French coast, and "joined with De Ruyter."—Page 26. It will be here seen, that Heath is in error, both with respect to the Dutch admirals, and to the wind.

[2] See above, p. 364, note.

[3] From a MS. copy of the despatch, among Sir W. Penn's papers.

got their fleet together, being sixty sail; and, hauling their foresails upon their masts, made ready to fight. There was then by me, the vice-admiral and some others; but a great part of the fleet was astern, by reason of their late weighing in the Downs, which I suppose was occasioned by the late storm we had there. As soon as a considerable part was come up to us, the Dutch then tacking, we bore in right with them; their admiral in the head. I commanded no guns to be fired till we came very near them, so that there passed many broadsides between us and them; and, by means of their tacking, the greatest part of our fleet came suddenly to be engaged, and the dispute was very hot for a short time, continuing till it was dark night. That night, we lay in sight of each other; refitting our ships, which were much torn. The next morning, being little wind and variable, we bore with them as fast as we could; they seeming awhile to stay for us; till afternoon, when the wind coming northerly, they made all the sail they could, and stood away to the eastward, towards their own coast. We followed them as much as possibly we could, they then having the wind of us. Many shots passed between some of our headmost ships and their stern fleet, but nothing could engage them. Then, it beginning to grow dark, we tacked to get our fleet together; and, if we might, get to the weather-gage. And being then half Channel over, it was advised by the captain, master and mates, the pilot and others, to lie close upon that tack till ten of the clock, that so we might have length enough to spend that night, presuming likewise that they would tack before the morning, which would again have brought us together if the wind had stood; but, it pleased God that it proved but little wind that night, which was westerly. The next morning, the wind came at S.W.; and, from the topmast-head, we discovered their fleet, and stood away after them; many of our frigates ahead of us, some so far that they saw West Gable. Then, perceiving that they fled from us as fast

as they could, and bent their course for Goree, it growing less wind, I sent for the vice and rear-admiral; and also, a great part of the captains being then come aboard, for a supply of some necessaries. We advised together, what was fittest to be done; and, it appearing that the merchant-ships were almuch, the most part altogether, out of victuals, and ours not able to supply them, it was resolved, that we should return to our coast.

"What harm we have received by loss of men, or otherwise, I cannot yet give your honours a just account. In our ship, we have only three that we know slain, whereof our lieutenant, Capt. Purvis, is one; about twenty hurt; which is a great mercy of God, considering the multitudes of shot flying among us, and our nearness each to other in the fight. We are also bound, with much thankfulness, to acknowledge God's goodness towards us, in affording us such fair weather and smooth water at our engagement; otherwise, many of our great ships might have perished without a stroke from the enemy; for both this ship and the *James* touched once or twice, and the great ship (*Sovereign*) had three or four rubs upon the Kentish Knock. What loss the enemy hath sustained, we know not. Three of their ships were wholly disabled at the first brunt, having lost all their masts; and another, as he was towing off the rear-admiral, was taken by Capt. Mildmay; and, the second day they were many less in number than the first. The rear-admiral, and two other captains, are prisoners; who say, that they conceive, by the striking of De Witt's *antient*, and the putting forth another of a blue colour, that he is slain.

"This is a true and faithful narrative of the Lord's dealing with us, and of our deportment in the last engagement. Yesterday, was brought into our company a vessel called the *State of Elvin*, bound for Bourdeaux, the master whereof (upon examination) says, that, about fourteen days since, three leagues off the Scawe (north point of Jutland), he met

eighteen sail of our men-of-war, being about twenty-three leagues from Elsinore; and that there were in that port, upon his coming out, but eight Holland men-of-war.

"Most of our merchant-ships being out of victuals, I shall, I believe, be necessitated to send them into the river; where, if it please your honours to give order for their revictualling, or else at Harwich or Yarmouth, some of them may be fit for the northern guard, in answer to your honours' commands so often received. There be many also of the State's ships, whose commanders do complain very much of their defects; as, the *Pelican*, *Guinea*, *Ruby*, the latter having lost her head. I am also informed, that the *Andrew* is very much maimed in her masts and yards, in the last engagement, and will scarce be fit to continue out much longer. Upon survey, I shall speedily give your honours a more perfect account, both of her, and the rest; as also, of all other things. In the mean time, humbly recommending your honours to the Divine grace and blessing, myself and our weak endeavours to your favourable judgments, I remain,

Right honourable,

Your honour's most humble and faithful servant,

ROB. BLAKE.

"From aboard the *Resolution*, off the North Foreland, October 2d, 1652."

"P.S. De Witt, and Ruyter that was to the westward, commanded the Dutch fleet; each of them wearing a flag on the maintop."

"*4th.*—Letter to the Lord Mayor, directing him to prepare reception in the several hospitals, and in the Savoy, for the wounded in the late engagement between General Blake and the Dutch.

"The Governors of Deal and Sandown Castles to draw,

into their respective castles, the guns placed on works for defence of the fleet commanded by Sir George Ascue.

"The sum of £5 ordered to be paid to Capt. Mildmay's man, who brought a narrative of the said fight.

"Two letters from General Blake, and narrative sent to the council by Captain Mildmay, reported to the parliament.

"Thirty new frigates ordered to be built."

"11*th*.—That a letter be written to General Blake, to discharge the Dutch captains and permit them to return, unless he knows that the Dutch detain any English of the same rank.

"Some guns of some State's ships, sunk upon the coast of Spain by Prince Rupert, are recovered by Mr. Bence at Alicant, who draws a bill of exchange: ordered to be paid out of the exigent monies of the council.

"That a letter be written to the lord ambassador of the King of Spain, to take notice to him of the civilities which have been used towards the men and ships of this nation which lately came from Porto Longone; as also, of the relief and good usage which hath been exercised at Dunkirk and Ostend by the governor and inhabitants of those places towards such seamen of this nation as have been taken prisoners by the Dutch and have been released, and have come to those places to gain their passage into England; to desire his lordship to return the thanks of this council to the governors of those places."

"21*st*.—That a letter be written to General Blake, to acquaint him with the intelligence that the council hath received of the intentions of the Dutch: to desire him, therefore, to put the fleet with him into the best posture he can for preventing the Dutch in their designs."

"30*th*.—The Commissioners of the Navy to consider, how the colliers' ships may be made useful for the service of State: and also, to consider what hath been done con-

cerning this business in former times; and to certify to the council in the whole matter."

"*Nov. 8th.*—That the petition of Capt. William Penn be referred to the Committee for the Admiralty, who are to take care that Capt. William Purefoy may repair to London, in order to the finishing of his accounts with Capt. Penn."[1]

"That order be given to Mr. Du Guard, to bring to the clerk of the council, for their use, 200 copies of the translation of '*Mare Clausum.*' That it be referred to the Committee for Examinations, to consider of a fit reward to be given to the person who translated '*Mare Clausum*' out of Latin into English; and to report their opinion thereon to the council."[2]

"*12th.*—Twenty ships ordered for the Straits."

"*18th.*—Capt. Peacock to command the squadron of ships going to the Straits, and Capt. Badiley to command in chief when Capt. Peacock shall have arrived."

"*23d.*—The Council of State having, in pursuance of the order of parliament in that behalf, taken into consideration the Duke de Vendosme's letter, and the matter of fact of taking the ships mentioned therein, do find the state of it to be; that Gen. Blake, being with the fleet in the Narrow about the 5th of September last, part of the fleet, after some hours' chase, did take (seven) French men-of-war, being the king's own ships, who, as the commander said, were, with several other ships, going for the relief of Dunkirk; and the council are of opinion, that the draught of a letter annexed hereunto, if the parliament shall so please, be sent, in the name of the council, to the Duke de Vendosme, in answer to his." (*The draught does not appear in the Council-book.*)

"Though there was no war declared between "England and France," says Heath, "yet some

[1] See above, p. 374, &c. [2] See above, p. 433.

" hostilities had happened on both sides, occasioned " by the destroying of some French ships at New- " foundland, where they had attempted to fish by " encouragement of the royalists. Whereupon, a " remarkable encounter ensued between Blake and " the Duke of Vendosme on the 7th of September. " Vendosme (who had lately defeated the Spanish " fleet under the Count d'Oignon) was going to the " relief of Dunkirk, then besieged by the Spaniards; " but being attacked by Blake with seven ships, " seven French men-of-war were taken, together " with a small frigate of eight guns, and a fire-ship. " Upon which, both Dunkirk and Gravelines, being " deprived of the expected succours, were obliged to " surrender to the Spaniards."[1]

" 25*th*.—That the lord general be desired to give orders to some foot-force of the army to march to Dover, Sandown, and Deal; to be there in readiness to go aboard the ships of the commonwealth, when they shall receive orders for the same from Gen. Blake.

" That a letter be written to Gen. Blake to acquaint him herewith, and to desire him to give order for the coming aboard of such of the said men as he shall find fit.

" Parliament reminded, that Gen. Blake's commission determines on the 4th of December next. All ships ordered round from Portsmouth to attend Gen. Blake."

" On the 29th November (says Heath), Tromp " presented himself, with eighty men-of-war, and ten " fire-ships, on the backside of the Goodwin again,

[1] Columna Rostrata, p. 105. HEATH, p. 325.

" and, according to expectation, found Gen. Blake, " attended with no more than forty and odd sail; " as if he had been ignorant how to use his late " victory (which came now to the dispute, and to be " an undecided controversy again); yet Blake, gene- " rously disdaining to be affronted again in the " Downs, having called a council of war, it was con- " cluded he should fight, though at so unequal dis- " advantage." " The season for action being passed " (says Colliber), Blake had for the most part divided " his fleet: twenty of his ships, he had detached to " convoy a fleet of colliers from Newcastle; twelve " others were sailed to Plymouth; and fifteen were " gone up the river, to repair the damage lately sus- " tained by storm." The issue of this day's conflict was not glorious: after fighting from noon till dark, and losing the *Garland*, *Bonadventure*, and three other ships, Blake retired into the river; " the Dutch (says " Heath) continuing triumphantly where they were." It was in consequence of this success, that Van Tromp, it was said, " wore a broom in his main-top, inti- " mating that he would sweep the narrow seas of all " English shipping." This failure gave occasion for another scrutiny, and accusation of officers. Colliber states, that Sir G. Ascue brought Blake a reinforce- ment, and " was so disgusted with his retreat, that " he laid down his commission;" but he cites no authority for this statement. Heath, who lived at the time, affirms, that Ascue was never employed more after the conflict with De Ruyter, of the 16th of August; that he retired, receiving " 300*l.* in Ireland

pitch of the Nesse, the headmost of our fleet met and engaged the enemy's fleet, consisting of ninety-five sail, most of them great ships: three admirals, two vice-admirals, and two rear-admirals. They passed many broadsides upon us very near, and yet we had but six men slain, and ten wounded. About the same time, the *Victory* was engaged with divers of the enemy, but was relieved by the *Vanguard* and some others. The *Garland* sped not so well; but being boarded by two of their flags, and others, and seconded only by Capt. Hoxton, was, after a hot fight board and board, carried by them, and his second with him. It was late before I took notice of it, whereupon I gave order to bear up to them; but immediately our fore-topmast was shot away, our main-stay being shot off before, and our rigging much torn, so that we could not work our ship to go to their relief. And by occasion thereof, and night coming on, we were saved ourselves, who were then left almost alone. As soon as it was night, we made sail towards Dover road, and came to anchor. This morning, the weather growing thick, and fearing a south wind, we stood away for the Downs, where (by God's providence) we now are.

"In this account, I am bound to let your honours to know in general, that there was much baseness of spirit, not among the merchant-men only, but many of the State's ships; and, therefore, I make it my earnest request, that your honours would be pleased to send down some gentlemen to take an impartial and strict examination of the deportment of several commanders, that you may know who are to be confided in, and who are not. It will then be time to take into consideration the grounds of some other errors and defects, especially the discouragement and want of seamen. I shall be bold at present to name one, not the least, which is, the great number of private men-of-war, especially out of the river of Thames. And I hope it will not be unseasonable for me, in behalf of myself, to desire your honours, that you

would think of giving me, your unworthy servant, a discharge from this employment, so far too great for me: especially since your honours have added two such able gentlemen[1] for the undertaking of that charge: that so I may spend the remainder of my days in private retirement, and in prayers to the Lord for a blessing upon you and the nation.

"Just now came the *Martin* frigate in, from Portsmouth, who, about break of day this morning, came in amongst the Dutch fleet riding off the Nesse, with a merchant-man from Pharo, which they took. So that I think it will be necessary to hasten your commands to our frigates at Portsmouth, and in the west, to secure themselves until the enemy be drawn off: or this fleet reinforced, which I desire may be done with all possible expedition, especially by recruits of seamen, to fight them again.

"I have no more at present, but to beg your honours' favourable opinion of me, until you shall be informed of the truth of the whole; and then to judge, as you shall find cause. At the close of this, I received your honours' of the 30th of November, together with your commission, which I shall endeavour to put in execution with all the power and faithfulness I can, until it shall please your honours to receive it back again, which I trust will be very speedily; that so I may be freed from that trouble of spirit which lies upon me, arising from the sense of my own insufficiency, and the usual effects thereof, reproach and contempt of men, and disservice of the commonwealth, which may be the consequent of both.

"Into what capacity or condition soever it shall please the Lord to cast me, I shall labour still to approve myself a faithful patriot, and

Your honours' most humble servant,

ROBERT BLAKE.

"*Triumph*, in the Downs, this 1st December, 1652."

[1] Deane and Monk.

The council immediately complied with Blake's first requisition, for a committee of inquiry into the conduct of his commanders; but they declined to receive back his commission which they had so recently renewed, and passed the following orders:

"*Dec. 2d.*—Warrant, to enable all captains of privateers in the Thames to impress seamen, to enable them to go out and join General Blake.

"Three members of the council (Colonel Walton, Colonel Morley, and Mr. Chaloner,) to be sent down to the fleet with General Blake, to pursue such measures as the council shall give unto them.

"That a letter be written to General Blake, to take notice to him of the receipt of his letter giving an account of the late engagement with the Dutch; to take notice to him of his good deportment in that action, and to give him thanks for the same; and also, to acquaint him, that the committee have dispatched some commissioners to him, to consult with him concerning the carrying on of the public service."

"*Instructions for Colonel Valentine Walton, Colonel Hubert Morley, and Thomas Chaloner, Esq., upon their repair unto the Fleet.*

"1. You are, with all convenient speed, to repair into the Downs, or such other place where you shall understand the greatest part of the fleet under command of Gen. Blake is.

"2. Upon your arrival you are to acquaint the general, that the council understanding that there had been an engagement with the Dutch fleet upon Tuesday last, near Dover, the relation whereof they have since received by his own letter of the 1st instant, have sent you to see him, and the condition of the fleet after the said fight.

"3. You are particularly to inform yourselves of the state and condition of the fleet now with the general; and such defects as shall appear therein, either of men's victuals or otherwise, you are to give such direction for supply thereof as you shall find necessary; for which purpose, you are hereby authorised to give such orders to the commissioners and victuallers of the navy, officers of the ordnance and stores, and others, who are hereby required to observe them.

"4. You are to acquaint the general with the orders the council have given for sending forth the ships that are in the river, a list whereof is herewith sent unto you; which also you are to hasten out, as you have occasion and opportunity for the same.

"5. You are, upon consideration of the whole matter, and of the posture and condition of the enemy, as you shall be informed thereof upon the place, to advise with the general in what manner to dispose, as well of that part of the fleet with him, as elsewhere, for the best advantage of the commonwealth.

"6. You, with the general, are hereby authorised to examine the deportment of several captains and commanders, as well of the State's ships as merchant-men, in the late fight with the Dutch fleet; and to remove from the command such of the captains and other commanders as you, upon examination, shall find not to have performed their duty in the said action; and to supply their places with other fit persons, until the council shall take further order.

"7. You are, during your residence there, to be present at councils of war; and to advise in all things that may emerge or fall into consideration upon the place, relating to the premises.

"8. You are to give unto the parliament, or council, frequent intelligence and advice of the state and condition of affairs; and to prepare your report upon the whole matter, to be presented to the council at your return, for their further order, as there shall be cause."

"4*th*, *Saturday*.—That a letter be written to Gen. Blake, to acquaint him with what the council hath done for the giving him an addition of strength; to let him know, that (in regard the state of affairs is before him, and he hath a perfect understanding of them) the council do leave to him, upon the place, to do what he may for his own defence and the service of the commonwealth.

"That General Monk be sent unto, and desired to be in readiness, at twenty-four hours' warning, to go to sea; to take upon him that charge, to which he hath been appointed by the parliament.

"That the parliament be humbly moved to give orders for the granting of commissions to General Deane and General Monk, as to the exercising that command at sea to which they have already been appointed by order of parliament; and the lord president is desired humbly to move the parliament herein.

"Orders from Lord President Whitelock to all ships at Harwich, to join General Blake in the Downs after the late fight; the enemy being yet about Folkeston."

"5*th*, *Sunday*.—The council suggest objections to Gen. Blake going with his fleet into Lee road, and recommend Harwich as a better position; but still leave it to him, to act according as his council of war shall advise upon the place.

"Order, to forbid all mariners of the State's or merchants' ships, belonging to the fleet in Lee road, going on shore, without special leave from the general, under the utmost penalty that may by law be inflicted; likewise, to forbid all boats coming aboard the ships, unless on a public account. This order to be affixed in an open place of every ship, that none may pretend ignorance thereof."

"8*th*.—The Council of State contract with the East India Company for such saltpetre as they have now in their hands; which they are to deliver refined to the height, and made fit for working into powder, at the rate of five pounds a hundred weight."

"*9th.*—That a letter be written to the commissioners of this council sent down to the fleet, to desire them to proceed to the examination of the miscarriages of the several officers in the fleet in the last engagement; and to let them know, that in case they find that the council of war of the fleet have power to punish them there for such offences as they shall find them guilty of, that they then deliver them over to the said council of war, to be proceeded against for the same; but if they find they have not power, they are to remove them from their commands, and send them up in safe custody to the council; and they are likewise to be encouraged in their proceedings.

"That a letter be written to General Blake, to give him encouragement in the carrying on of the business of the examination of the defects of the officers of the fleet, in the late engagement."

"*10th.*—The Commissioners of the Admiralty to give directions for the speedy fitting forth to sea all ships ready for present service, taking care that they are well officered and manned; and to consider of some encouragement for the coming in of seamen."

"*11th.*—Reference to the Commissioners of the Admiralty about building thirty new frigates.

"The council apply to the parliament for £100,000 for seamen's wages, and £110,000 for victuals: the latter to be advanced, £60,000 in January, and £50,000 in February.

"That the 16,000 men's victuals formerly, and the 14,000 men's victuals for six months now declared for, shall be provided in the several ports, and by the several proportions following:

London and Chatham	14,500
Portsmouth	8,000
Dover and Sandwich	2,000
Plymouth	2,500
Harwich	1,000
In Ireland	1,000
Hull	1,000
	30,000

"16*th*.—That there be a fleet sent into the Straits to Captain Badiley, to assist him there against the Dutch.

"Warrant, authorising and requiring Capt. John Limberg to go down to the sea-coasts of Kent and Sussex, and to give such orders as he shall think fit for altering, removing, or taking away the lights, or nocturne-fires; and for prohibiting all boats from putting to sea, from any port or place on those coasts, as long as he may judge fit; to prevent the enemy's obtaining notice.

"Commissioners of the Navy empowered to seize all hemp, pitch, tar, and all other commodities useful for the navy, paying the usual prices.

"Captain Deakins ordered to join, with all his ships, General Blake on the northern coast.

"General Deane, in his letter to the council of the 11th December, expresses his readiness to repair hither; upon the appointing of some other fit person to succeed to his command (in Scotland). Referred to the lord general."

"17*th*.—Upon the hearing of the report made to the council by the commissioners sent down from them to the fleet, the council doth declare; That they do very well approve of what hath been done by them at the fleet, and return them their thanks for their great care and pains in the service upon which they have been employed.

"That the commissioners lately sent down to the fleet, do give order for the drawing out of such examinations as they have taken in relation to every particular captain, particularly by themselves; and to present them to the council.

"That a letter be written to General Blake, to let him know, the council have received an account, from the commissioners sent down to him, of the state of the fleet, and of his readiness to give them assistance in the business for which they were sent; to return him thanks for his faithful service; and to acquaint him, that all possible endeavours are using for the speedy setting forth of the fleet to sea.

"That the captains of such ships as shall be hired for the service of the commonwealth, shall be chosen and placed by the State;[1] and the other officers are likewise to be approved of.

"Parliament to be moved, that Tuesday may be appointed to consider what may be done for encouraging of seamen, and making of laws and ordinances for the regulating of the fleet: to be moved by Sir H. Vane."

"21*st*.—That the laws and ordinances of war for the regulation of the fleet, this day read at council, be humbly presented to the parliament to-morrow morning."

"23*d*.—That a letter be written to General Blake, to acquaint him, that his letter, dated the 21st, was not delivered to the lord president of the council till this morning: to desire him, therefore, to examine by whom the letter was sent, that the neglect may be found out.

"To consider of the next summer's fleet."

Tromp's success against Blake,[2] on the 29th of November, elated the spirits of the Hollanders to the highest pitch. "The Dutch lion (says Heath) "was now rampant, and roaring out proclamations

[1] See this measure suggested in Penn's letter to Cromwell, of June 2d: above, page 427.

[2] Clarendon, writing from Paris to Secretary Nicholas, in Holland, on the 14th of December, says: "We are in great hope that this notable fight at sea, "in which the Hollanders have so thoroughly banged the rebels, will make a "great alteration in the counsels with you, and here. It is the first signal "overthrow those devilish rebels have sustained, either at sea or land; and "therefore must make a deep impression upon the spirits of the common people "of England, who have hitherto been transported by their incredible successes." And in the following month, January 18th, 1652–3, he thus wrote: "I wish "you could make your friends there believe (which in earnest is the truth), "that they owe their last victory to the king, the mariners for his sake "refusing to fight, as they have done since to go to sea. But they send us "word, that if they do not speedily declare for the king, they will engage as "one man."

" and *placets* against bringing in any English manu-
" factures, or holding correspondence with us; as if
" he had the prey under his paws, and was sure of
" the victory. Songs and by-words, and pictures,
" were made of this English defeat; the names of
" the ships discanted upon, that were taken, as omi-
" nous to us; having lost the *Garland*, &c., and the
" like devices: this the vulgar." In this strain, they were well matched by our own vulgar at home, as may be seen by the following sample in a periodical journal of the day, entitled

" *The* Laughing Mercury, *&c.*, 15-22 *September*, 1652, *for the right understanding of all the mad-merry people of England.*"

" Now Neptune binds his curled brow,
His rolling billows tumble;
The Dutch do sink, the Lord knows how:
Tarpaulins curse and grumble.

Our navy brave, stout men-of-war,
That in the Channel ride,
Will make those sons of pitch and tar
Full dearly rue their pride.

The devil, sure, intends a feast,
For to invite all rich-men,
Having provided at the least
A shoal of pickled Dutch-men.

Avant, ye sponges, sowes in ruffes,
Amboyna we'll revenge!
When we have made the sea your tomb,
We'll squeeze out your Orenge."

" How now, my Dutch *Mullipuffs*, my fat boars in doublets; what price bear herrings in Holland now? Have ye not fished fair, and caught a frog? Ye high and mighty

Dotterels, ye most illustrious pilcher-catchers; ye ingrateful *Schellums;* ye larded cowards, that quarrel with those that have formerly been your strength, your defence, your bulwark, your hands, your aiders and protectors, your harbingers, your friends, in all your distresses, to furnish you with men, ships, gold, silver, ordnance, &c.! How many honourable and renowned English have sacrificed their dearest blood in your redemption from the ambition and tyranny of proud Spain, who usurped over your lives, consciences, and estates, by their cruel inquisition! Have we not been your schoolmasters, that have taught you both wit and valour? Did not K. Jemmy give you back Flushing, Brill, Ramekins? Could Spain's red and white earth (though it ruined poor Germany) once so much as take hold on the skirts of any of your provinces, so long as you were backed by the English? And do ye thus reward us for all these kindnesses? Nay, then, expect the reward of ingratitude, and to render a strict account of your Amboyna tortures, that will never be forgotten by any true Englishman; and justice, that a long time hath slept, hath now begun to take vengeance on your perfidiousness."[1]

This coarse and rancorous invective, though published just before the temporary advantage gained by the Dutch in November, will still convey a notion of the general feelings, anticipative of final triumph on the part of the English, with which the following and concluding campaign was soon to open.

[1] King's Pamphlets, Anno 1652–3. Brit. Mus.

1653.

"*January* 4*th*, 1652-3.—Capt. Saltonstall, Capt. Chapman, Capt. Brown, in the Fleet; and ordered for trial."

"8*th*.—Tuesday next appointed to consider how the fleet which is now going to sea shall be employed, and to which services it shall be appointed."

"10*th*—Referred to the committee to prepare instructions for the generals of the fleet.

"Commission appointing Capt. Edward Blagge captain of the ship *Marmaduke*, expressing the council being satisfied of his fidelity to the State, and good ability in sea affairs."

"12*th*.—Letter to Mr. Longland (in the Mediterranean), directing him from time to time to send to Algiers, to liberate the English captives, according to the prices agreed upon, in order for the furnishing of the English shipping in the Straits with Englishmen."

"24*th*, *Monday*.—That the council do approve of Capt. Penn (upon the nomination of the Commissioners for the Admiralty) to be vice-admiral of the fleet for this year.

"That the council do hold it convenient, that two generals only do go out to sea with such part of the fleet as is now to go to sea; and that the third general do remain ashore, to be assistant in the dispatching and hastening out of the summer fleet.

"That it be recommended to the Commissioners for the Admiralty to nominate to the council a fit person to be rear-admiral, and such other flag-officers as they shall judge necessary for the commanding of the fleet for this year."

The able and important services rendered by Capt. Lawson in the late actions, made Cromwell still more sensible of the value of sea-heads for sea-business; and he, accordingly, set aside Major Bourne,

and appointed Lawson rear-admiral of the fleet, in his place; to which promotion, there is good ground to believe that Penn was mainly instrumental.[1] It is stated, that Bourne was originally brought up to the sea; but he had quitted it for the army, in which service he had employed all those important years of life which Lawson had devoted uninterruptedly to active naval service.

"That the Commissioners of the Admiralty be desired to repair to Chatham, to have conference with the generals of the fleet; and to be there upon the place, to give such directions as they shall find necessary for the hastening out the fleet.

"That it be left to the Generals of the Fleet and the Commissioners of the Admiralty, to consider which two of the three generals shall go to sea with the ships now to go out, and which of them shall remain behind.

"That the Commissioners of the Admiralty and the Generals of the Fleet be desired, when they are met together at Chatham, to take into consideration the list of the commanders and other officers of the fleet, and thereupon to send to the council a list of such persons as they shall judge fitly qualified to have command in the fleet."

"25*th*.—Whereas, Capt. William Penn is nominated by the Commissioners of the Admiralty, and approved by the council, to be vice-admiral of the fleet; Ordered, that the Generals of the Fleet do give him a commission accordingly, and that the Commissioners of the Admiralty be desired to acquaint the generals herewith."

"28*th*.—The judges of the Admiralty ordered to proceed with all speed to the trials of Captains Saltonstall, Young,

[1] Appendix M.

Taylor, and the rest of the captains committed, according to law and justice.

"The council, upon consideration of the whole business now before them concerning the fleet, do think fit and order, That all the three generals go forth to sea with the fleet upon this present expedition.

"That Francis Harvey, late secretary to General Blake, be not employed in the service of the fleet; that Capt. Benj. Blake be discharged from his present command in the fleet, and that he be not employed nor go forth in the service."

There never was a period, in which the courage and conduct of naval officers underwent a severer scrutiny. Campbell, in his Life of Blake, relates the supercession of Benjamin Blake, the general's brother, on the sole authority of a work entitled, "Lives, "English and Foreign," placing it at the attack on Santa Cruz, in 1657. "There is a circumstance (he "says) which will perhaps redound more to Blake's "glory, than even the burning the Spanish ships "in so well fortified a port. His brother, Benjamin "Blake, for whom he had a very tender affection, "was guilty of some misdemeanour in the action; "for which he was, by sentence from Blake, removed "from his ship, and the command of it given to "another. This was such an instance of discipline, "and must have had so strong an effect on the "minds of all who served under him, that we need "not wonder such extraordinary things were per-"formed by men so strictly tied to their duty."[1] As Campbell has not noticed this supercession in

[1] Vol. ii. p. 226.

1653, it is evident that that which he places in 1657 is only a misplacement of the former; as many circumstances tend to shew. In the autumn of the following year, 1654, Benjamin Blake was appointed to the command of the *Gloucester*, in the fleet sent under Penn to the West Indies, and very probably through the friendly influence of Penn, who, as we have seen in the case of Captain Thorowgood,[1] was tender of the reputation of a brother-officer; and would have been especially tender of one so connected, and who had served under him in the Mediterranean. On Penn's return to England from the West Indies with a part of his fleet, in September 1655, he reported the *Gloucester* to be one of the ships of the squadron he had left behind him at Jamaica, for the security of that island; which squadron was not drawn away, but was increased by the addition of fresh ships. It is not probable, therefore, that Benjamin Blake should have been in his brother's fleet in the Mediterranean in 1657; and as we have here the only authenticated account of his removal by his brother, it is plain that Campbell has been drawn into an anachronical error, more injurious to Benjamin Blake's memory than the fact, when duly stated.

"*February 2d.*—Upon consideration of what hath been offered to the council from the Commissioners for the Admiralty, for the better manning of the fleet now going forth to sea; ordered, that 1200 land-soldiers, besides officers, be sent

[1] See above, page 427.

with all expedition to the fleet; wherein, care is to be taken that they be persons fitly qualified for that service, according as it is propounded by the Commissioners of the Admiralty.

"That, for the rendering of the land-soldiers the more serviceable when they shall come on ship-board; it is ordered, that one sergeant and two corporals be appointed to each sixty men; and that each soldier have the pay of 18 shillings *per mensem*, and his victuals; and the officers to have their victuals, and also their pay as when employed ashore; viz. for a sergeant, eighteen pence *per diem*, and a corporal, twelve pence.

"That the aforesaid officers and soldiers now appointed to go to the fleet are (when they shall come there) to perform, as far as they are able, all service as seamen; and to be ordered in the like capacity as the rest.

"The council having taken into consideration the captains of the several ships contained and propounded in the list last sent unto them from the Commissioners for the Admiralty, many of which are known to the council; and not doubting but the commissioners have inquired into and satisfied themselves concerning the abilities of the rest; do approve of all the commanders contained in the said list; and order, that the Generals of the fleet do give commissions unto them accordingly.

"That the propositions made and sent to the council by the Commissioners of the Admiralty, concerning the flag-officers to be employed in this present expedition, be approved of; and that it be referred to the Commissioners of the Admiralty and Generals of the fleet to give order therein accordingly."

"*March* 1*st*.—The following letter from the three Generals of the fleet, addressed to the Speaker, was read in the house.[1]

[1] From the Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 116.

"Aboard the *Triumph*, Feb. 27th, 1652-3,
in Stoke's bay.

"SIR,

"On the 18th instant, in the morning, being some five leagues distant from the English shore, we descried the Dutch fleet early in the morning, consisting (as we then judged, and are since informed by some of their own number,) of 80, all men-of-war, and some 200 merchantmen; a league and a half to windward of the weathermost of our ships, and of most of our fleet two or three leagues.

"The ship *Triumph*, with the *Fairfax* (Rear-Admiral Lawson), *Speaker* (Vice-Admiral Penn),[1] and about twenty more, being nearest unto them, the Dutch admiral (Tromp) might probably (if he had pleased to have kept the wind) gone away with his whole fleet, and we had not been able to have reached him with our main body, only with a few frigates, our best sailers, which had not been likely to have done much upon them; but the said admiral, so soon as he had discovered us, put all his merchantmen to windward, and ordered them to stay there (as some that we have taken have since informed us), and himself, with his body of men-of-war, drew down upon us that were the weathermost ships, when we were, in a short time, engaged. And by reason the greatest part of our ships were to leeward, and much astern, those that were weathermost had a very sharp conflict of it that whole day, till about four o'clock in the afternoon, by which time a considerable number of our ships and frigates had got so far ahead, that, by tacking, they could weather the greatest part of the Dutch fleet; which so soon as the Dutch admiral perceived, he tacked likewise, and those with him, and left us. We spent the remainder of that day and night to man ourselves out of the weaker ships, and to repair our rigging, masts, and sails; without which, we were not in

[1] Appendix M.

a capacity to move in the sea. We took and destroyed, in this way, seven or eight men-of-war. . . . . .

" They had possession of Capt. Barker, in the *Prosperous*, Capt. Bourne in the *Assistance*, the *Oak*, and some other ships; but, blessed be God! we repossessed them again, with the loss of some in the *Assistance*. The leeward-most part of our ships continued fighting till night separated (them), being engaged, within two hours, as soon as we. We lost the *Sampson*, whereof Captain Button was commander; which was so much torn and unserviceable, the captain and many men wounded and slain, that we took out the men that were left, and let her sink into the sea. At night, the Dutch fleet and we kept as near one another as we conveniently could without mixing; each of us having our lights abroad all night. The wind coming westerly, and little wind, they steered directly up the Channel; their merchantmen ahead, and men-of-war in the rear. We were, in the morning, some three or four leagues to the southward of the Isle of Wight.

" On the 19th, as soon as it was day, we made what sail we could after them, but, being calm, could not get up until noon, and our main body not until two of the clock; by which time we drew very near each other, and had warm work while night parted us. We took and destroyed, this day, some five sail of men-of-war. The Dutch fleet steered up the Channel, with their lights abroad; we followed: the wind at W. N.W., a fine little gale all night.

" On the 20th, about nine in the morning, we fell close in with them, with some five great ships and all the frigates of strength, though very many could not come up that day. And seeing their men-of-war somewhat weakened, we sent smaller frigates, and ships of less force, that could get up amongst the merchantmen, which put their whole body to a very great trouble, so that many of them, and their men-of-war, began to break off from their main body; and, towards evening, we pressed so hard upon them, that they turned

their merchantmen out of their fleet upon us (as is conceived) for a bait; but we gave strict order, that none of our ships that could get up to their men-of-war, and had force, should meddle with any merchantmen, but leave them to the rear. We continued still fighting with them until the dusk of the evening, by which time we were some three and a half leagues off Blackness, in France (four leagues W. from Calais), the wind at N.W.; we steering directly for the point of land, having the wind of the Dutch fleet. So that, if it had pleased the Lord, in his wise Providence, who sets bounds to the sea, and overrules the ways and actions of men, that it had been but three hours longer to night, we had probably made an interposition between them and home; whereby they might have been obliged to have made their way through us with their men-of-war, which at this time were not above 35, as we could count; the rest being destroyed or dispersed. The merchantmen, also, must have been necessitated to have run ashore, or fallen into our hands; which, as we conceive, the Dutch admiral being sensible of, just as it was dark bore directly in upon the shore, where it is supposed he anchored; the tide of ebb being then come, which was a leewardly tide. We consulted with our pilots, and men knowing those coasts, what it was possible for the enemy to do? Whose opinions were, that he could not weather the French shore, as the tide and wind then was, to get home; and that we must likewise anchor, or we could not be able to carry it about the flats of the Somme: whereupon we anchored, Blackness being N.E. and by E., three leagues from us.

"This night being very dark, and blowing hard, the Dutch got away from us; so that, in the morning of the 21st, we could not discover one ship more than our own, which were betwixt 40 and 50, the rest being scattered, and as many prizes as made up 60 in all. We spent all this night and day, while twelve o'clock, in fitting of our ships, masts, and sails, for we were not capable to stir till they

were repaired; at which time, being a windward tide, and the Dutch fleet gone, we weighed and stood over to the English shore, fearing to stay longer upon the coast, being a lee-shore.

"On the 22d, in the morning, we were fair by the Isle of Wight, being the place whereunto we then thought fit to repair for accommodation; but the wind blew so hard northwardly, we could not get in that day.

"The 23d we weighed, and got near St. Helen's road, and sent for all the captains on board, to understand the state of the fleet; but, it blowing hard, we were not able to accomplish it, only we commanded all the ships that were disabled to turn into Stoke's bay, and the rest remained about us.

"The 24th, we sent for all the captains on board of this ship, and ordered out two squadrons, one to ply to the eastward, the other to the westward, of the Isle of Wight; the last of which, sailed the 25th present.

"It hath blown so hard, we have scarce been able to send our boats one from another; or do any thing, till this day that we got up to this place.

"Thus you see, how it hath pleased the Lord to deal with us, poor unworthy instruments, employed in this late transaction; wherein He hath delivered into our hands some 17 or 18 of their ships of war, which have been by your fleet (without the loss of any one ship save the *Sampson*) taken and destroyed; besides merchantmen, whose numbers we know not, they being scattered to several ports.

"We have many men wounded, and divers, both of honesty and worth, slain.

(Subscribed) ROBERT BLAKE.
RICHARD DEANE.
GEORGE MONK."

"P.S. Several of the Dutch are driven ashore in France; one, without any men at all in her."

An eye-witness of this action, who served on board the *Assurance*, Captain Robert Sanders, belonging to Penn's division, relates; "that, the wind being at "N.W., Vice-admiral Penn in the *Speaker*, as ad- "miral of the blue, (being ahead of the Generals "Blake and Deane in the *Triumph*, which ship had "been well manned to their hand by Penn, who had "but recently quitted her,) began the fight, with the "wind on the starboard bow; and seeing the Dutch "bend all their force to destroy the generals, he, "with his division, tacked and stood through the "Dutch fleet, with the wind on the larboard side; "as Lawson, vice-admiral of the red, did in the "*Fairfax*, with his larboard tack aboard, being about "a mile on the starboard quarter, and as much "astern of the generals, when the fight began: "general Monk, in the *Vanguard*, then admiral of "the white, and all his division, being at least four "miles to leeward of the other generals when the "fight began: so as, the main stress of the fight "lay upon the red and blue divisions."[1] The author of the life of Cornelius Van Tromp, (son of the great Martin,) in relating the Portland-fight, says; that "Tromp fought a long time against seven great En- "glish men-of-war, among whom was Vice-admiral "Penn, who was fain to retire, very much battered, "to the Isle of Wight; with another ship very much "disabled, all her masts and rigging being shot away "close to the board."[2] From thence, Penn appears

[1] Appendix M. [2] Life of C. Tromp, p. 91.

to have made his way for a recruit of ships; for he quickly appeared again, with a reinforcement of fifteen fresh men-of-war.

"*Another great Victory obtained by Vice-Admiral Penn, against the Hollanders, since the last great and terrible Engagements between both Fleets, &c. Advertised by letters from the Generals at Sea to the Parliament and Council of State.*[1]

"Brought by the last post, Sunday, Feb. 26th, 1652-3; and published (according to order) to undeceive the people, March 1st.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"Since the last engagement with the enemy, it hath pleased God to add further trophies of success to that memorable victory, wherein we sunk, fired, and dispersed their great Armada; upon whose flight, Vice-admiral Penn coming opportunely in with about fifteen sail of fresh ships, embraced the pursuit, where at last he gleaned up fourteen brave prizes, which had lately reaped their harvest in France: they are now bound for the Isle of Wight, and others come in daily. Amongst the rest, divers rich prizes are already sent to Dover, a list whereof followeth:

"*A List of the Dutch Ships brought into Dover, together with the number of prisoners.*

"1. The *Black Bush*, of Embden, laden with salt and vinegar; burthen 22 tons.
2. The *Golden Cock*, a man-of-war, 36 guns.
3. The *Peacock*, of Embden, laden with salt; 22 tons.
4. The *Church*, of Amsterdam, laden with wine; 300 tons.
5. The *Abigail*, of Embden, laden with wine and strong water.
6. The *Star*, laden with wine and vinegar.
7. The *Beaver*, laden with salt and vinegar.

[1] KING'S Pamphlets, No. 555. Brit. Mus.

8. The *Church*, of Graveling, laden with salt, oranges, and lemons; 300 tons; 7 guns.
9. The *George*, of Memel, laden with salt and bread; 300 tons.
10. The *Black Raven*, of Memel, laden with salt; 300 tons.
11. The *St. Peter*, of Hamburgh, laden with Nants wine; 300 tons.
12. The *Antwerp*, laden with tobacco and sugar; 80 tons; 6 guns.
13. The *Princess Amilette*, laden with silver bars; 400 tons.
14. The *Lion*, of Flushing, laden with silver bars, cochineal, and other rich commodities from St. Lucar.
15. About 700 prisoners landed.

"The loss on our side is greater than was expected, for we have lost many precious commanders, besides many wounded, who are brought to the western ports; some having lost their legs, and others their arms; an object of great pity and compassion. We hear that Van Tromp lies at anchor in Calais roads, and that De Witt is coming forth to join with him; but we have a gallant party abroad to attend his motion, that daily bring in more of them. The rest of our fleet are equipping and making ready at Portsmouth; and this summer, we doubt not (by God's assistance) to be masters of the seas."

"Southampton, Feb. 26th, 1652-3.

"The particulars hereof being communicated to the parliament, it was ordered, that the ministers do return thanks to Almighty God, in their several congregations throughout England and Wales, for this great victory against the Hollanders.[1] That the speaker do write a letter of congratulation to each of the three generals, taking notice of the parliament's resentment of their great and faithful services in the late engagement, with thanks to them and the several

[1] Clarendon, on the 20th of March, thus wrote to Secretary Nicholas (in Holland): "We do here (Paris), notwithstanding all their brags in England of "their victory, believe the Dutch to have absolutely the best of it; and I have "seen from good hands, out of England, which confess they are miserably "tattered, and will very hardly get out another fleet to sea."

commanders under them. And likewise, that due provision be made for the wives and children of those that have lost their lives in the service of this commonwealth, against the enemy."

Extract of a Letter to the Council of State, from on board the Eagle, *Feb.* 21*st.*[1]

"—— Slain, that noble and approved soldier, Capt. Ball. Capt. Mildmay and Capt. Barker deported themselves with singular dexterity and courage, with our secretary Mr. Sparrow, whose deaths are much lamented."

It is very remarkable, that the Generals of the fleet should not have noticed, in their dispatch, the deaths of these gallant and distinguished commanders.

Hoste, in his splendid work on Naval Evolutions, gives the following account of this action.[2]

"*Ordre de Retraite.*

"*Combat de Portland,* 1653.

"Les Anglois avoient soixante et dix vaisseaux de guerre sous le commandement de l'Amiral Black, et les Hollandois en avoient autant, et ils escortoient deux cens marchands richement chargés. Les deux armées se rencontrèrent à la

[1] CLARENDON.

[2] Art des Armées Navales; où, Traité des Evolutions Navales, &c. Par le Père Paul Hoste, de la Compagnie de Jésus, Professeur de Mathématiques dans le Séminaire Royal de Toulon. A Lyon. Fol. 1696 & 1727, p. 90.

"Paul Hoste, born at Pont-de-Vesle, in Bresse (now Department of the "Ain), in 1652, was admitted into the order of Jesuits at the age of seventeen, "and applied himself particularly to mathematics. His talents brought him "to the knowledge of the Marshals d'Estrées and de Tourville, whom he "accompanied in several naval expeditions. Louis XIV., who accepted his "dedication of his great naval work, rewarded it by a pension. L'Hoste died "at Toulon, the 23d February, 1700, aged 49."—*Bibl. Universelle,* 1817.

vue de Portland, et les Anglois firent tous leurs efforts pour engager le combat. Les Hollandois étoient au-vent, et ils sembloient devoir éviter le combat, où ils risqueroient leur convoi: néanmoins, l'Amiral Tromp considérant que si le vent venoit à changer, il seroit obligé de combattre avec moins d'avantage, résolut d'*arriver* sur l'ennemi après avoir mis son convoi au-vent. Il divisa donc son armée en trois escadres, et fondit sur les Anglois avec beaucoup de résolution; ceux-ci le reçûrent avec toute la vigueur possible, et le combat fut très-sanglant, plusieurs vaisseaux furent désemparés, ou coulés-bas, ou brûlés, et rien ne pût séparer deux ennemis si acharnés, que l'obscurité de la nuit, durant laquelle on se prépara a renouveler le combat, qui étoit demeuré indécis. Mais les Anglois reçûrent un renfort de seize vaisseaux de guerre,[1] et le vent ayant changé leur donna tout l'avantage qu'ils pouvoient désirer. L'Amiral Tromp se trouva fort intrigué; et après plusieurs délibérations, il prit le parti de la retraite. Il rangea son armée en demi-lune, et il mit son convoi au milieu; c'est-à-dire, que son vaisseaux faisoit au-vent l'angle obtus de la demi-lune, et les autres s'étendoient de part et d'autre sur les deux lignes du *plus-près*, pour former les faces de la demi-lune qui couvroient le convoi. Ce fut en cet ordre qu'il fit *vent arrière*, foudroiant à droite et à gauche tous les Anglois qui s'approchoient pour insulter ses aîles: et il auroit entièrement sauvé son convoi, si quelques-uns des siens n'eussent lâchement abandonné leurs postes. Les frégates Angloises ayant donné dans les brêches que ces lâches déserteurs avoient fait dans une des faces de la demi-lune flottante, enlevèrent quelques marchands; ce qui obligea l'Amiral Tromp de se remettre en bataille; et il combattit encore jusques à la nuit, qui lui donna le temps de se remettre en ordre de retraite. Il fut de même poursuivi le lendemain par les Anglois; mais après avoir essuyé quelques

[1] Brought by the vice-admiral.

volées de canon, il entra dans ses ports avec la gloire d'avoir par sa valeur, et par son habileté, conservé à sa patrie un riche convoi, qui alloit devenir la proie des ennemis."

[TRANSLATION.]

"*Order of Retreat.*

"*Battle of Portland.*

"The English had seventy ships of war under the command of Admiral Blake; and the Dutch had as many, and were convoying two hundred merchantmen, richly laden. The two fleets met in sight of Portland, and the English used every effort to bring on an engagement. The Dutch had the wind, and it appeared that they ought to avoid a battle in which they should hazard their convoy; nevertheless, Admiral Tromp, considering that, if the wind should change, he should be obliged to fight with less advantage, resolved to *bear down* on the enemy, after having placed his convoy to windward. He then divided his fleet into three squadrons, and attacked the English with great resolution: these received him with the utmost vigour, and the battle was very sanguinary; many ships were disabled, or sunk, or fired, and nothing was able to separate two enemies so furiously excited, but the darkness of the night, during which both parties prepared themselves to renew the combat, which had remained undecided. But the English received a reinforcement of sixteen ships of war; and the wind, having changed, gave them all the advantage they could desire. Admiral Tromp found himself exceedingly perplexed; and, after many deliberations, he determined to retreat. He drew up his fleet in a half-moon, and put his convoy in the middle; that is to say, that his own ship formed, to windward, the obtuse angle of the half-moon, and the rest of his fleet extended on each side, on the two lines *nearest the wind*, to form the faces or fronts of the half-moon

which covered the convoy. In this order he proceeded, with the wind *right astern*, thundering to the right and left on all the English that approached to insult his wings; and he would have entirely preserved his convoy, if some of his own ships had not in a dastardly manner abandoned their stations. The English frigates having entered the openings which those cowardly deserters had made in the fronts of the floating half-moon, carried off some merchantmen, which obliged Admiral Tromp to put himself again in order of battle; and he continued to fight till night, which gave him time to renew his order of retreat. He was pursued the following day by the English; but, after having sustained some volleys of cannon, he entered his ports with the glory of having, by his valour and his skill, preserved for his country a rich convoy, which was on the point of becoming the prey of the enemy."[1]

"25*th*.—The Victuallers of the Navy empowered to seize all vintners' empty casks for use of the victualling of the navy; they paying for what they shall take according to the rates for which they had made agreement with the company of vintners."

"27*th*.—That a letter be written to the Generals of the Fleet, signifying to them the information the council hath received concerning De Witt's being gone to the northward, designing probably the meeting with the colliers bound for Newcastle; and therefore desire them to send Vice-Admiral Penn, with all the ships now ready, into the Swin (or King's Channel, near the mouth of the Thames), where the rear-

[1] It does not fall within my purpose to follow this naval war beyond the operations of the home fleet; I shall, therefore, only here observe, that on the 2d of March of this year, a severe conflict took place off Leghorn, between the Commodores Badiley and Appleton and the Dutch Admiral Van Galen, in which, after great efforts of valour on the part of the English, they were finally worsted, with considerable loss; the particulars of which conflict are to be found in Heath's Chronicle, p. 336, and in Collibee's Columna Rostrata, pp. 119–122. This was the only great action of the war fought out of the British seas.

admiral is, in order to attend the motion of the Dutch; and to give him such instructions as they shall judge useful."

"29*th*.—Ordered, that the *Fairfax* frigate (burned down at Chatham to the lower deck) be new-built, according to the proportion and rate she was of before."

About this time, letters were received, "That "Prince Rupert, with three ships only, was come "into Nantes: that he could give no account of "his brother (Prince Maurice) and his ships, which "were separated from him by a hurricane in the "(West) Indies, and he believed they were cast "away;" which afterwards proved to be the fact. "Sure," says Clarendon, "when it is known that "Prince Rupert, instead of ever giving to the king "one penny of those millions which he had taken, "demanded a great debt from the king; that he "received £14,000 since his being in France, and "took no more notice of it to the king than if "he were not concerned; and that he went away "discontented, because the king would not approve "of all he did or desired to do; it cannot be won-"dered that the king did not importune him to "stay."[1] Carte states, that Rupert sold the *Swallow*, with her 54 brass guns, and the remainder of his ships, tackling, and ordnance, to Cardinal Mazarin,[2] after his arrival at Nantes. It is exasperating, to think of this German pirate plundering the commerce of England, and of other nations, for more than three

[1] State Papers, 26th June, 1654. [2] Vol. iv. p. 664.

years; and with a fleet nominally subject to a king of England, yet abused and wasted to the injury both of England and of the king, only to enrich and aggrandise an adventuring and unestimable foreigner. He was, indeed, *naturalised,* that is, the law invested him with all the rights and privileges of an Englishman; but, he was still a foreigner; the omnipotence of the law cannot *make an Englishman.*

"31*st.*—That a letter be written to the Generals of the Fleet, to take notice to them, that the council have not lately heard from them any account of the state of the fleet; to desire them, that they will for the future do it frequently, and by the next return give an account to the council of what ships are now out at sea; to what stations they are appointed; how many more are to go to sea; and by what time they will be ready.

"Captains Saltonstall, Young, and Taylor, discharged with fine, and set at liberty."

"*April* 4*th, Monday.*—That a letter be written to Vice-Admiral Penn, to desire him to hasten with the fleet into the Swin, and to lie in such part thereof that he may be ready, upon receipt of orders from the council, to go immediately upon service."

"5*th.*—That a letter be written to Vice-Admiral Penn, to let him know, that he is to go with the fleet now under his command to some place, between Harwich and Yarmouth, most convenient for the fleet to lie in, in order to the securing the colliers' fleet coming from Newcastle; and for attending the motions of De Witt. And, for his better information, that he constantly keep out scouts to gain intelligence, and be ready to move as he, being upon the place, shall find the business of the commonwealth require it. To let him know, that Rear-Admiral Lawson is ordered to join with him, with

such ships as are now ready to come out of the river; to desire him, therefore, to correspond with Rear-Admiral Lawson, in order to that service. To let him know, that he is to keep out with him such of the merchant-ships in his fleet as he shall find able and fit for the service; and such of them as are unserviceable, he is to send in. To let him know, that there are 270 of Colonel Ingoldsby's men now at Dover, which are ordered to be sent aboard the fleet upon his sending for them; to desire him, therefore, to take them aboard him, if it may be done without any hinderance to the service upon which he is now commanded.

"That a letter be written to Rear-Admiral Lawson, to acquaint him with the orders which have been given to Vice-Admiral Penn; and to let him know, that he is to hasten out of the river with the ships appointed to him, and to join with Vice-Admiral Penn."

"*6th.*—That the despatches to Vice-Admiral Penn be sent to Southwold bay by one messenger, and to Yarmouth by another; with instructions to the messengers to inquire for the fleet upon the coast, as they ride; and also, by a ketch down the river, and so coasting it until he overtake the fleet."

"*8th.*—Order to all captains to go on board, and hasten to sea."

"*9th.*—That a letter be written unto Vice-Admiral Penn, to desire him to take into his consideration, whether he may not, at present, give convoy to the remainder of the colliers at Newcastle and Sunderland; and, if he find it may be done, that he do send his orders for them accordingly."

"*10th.*—That a letter be written to the Generals of the Fleet, taking notice of theirs of the 9th instant, and desiring them to send up to the council a particular account of the several ships now at Portsmouth appointed for this summer guard; what forwardness they are in respectively; and by

what time they will be ready; and to acquaint them, that the council hath received intelligence of the forwardness of the enemy in Holland, and to let them know that the council desires not to be backward, it so much concerning the service of the commonwealth."

"13*th*.—That a copy of the letter written to the council from Vice-Admiral Penn, dated the 11th, from Winterton, be sent unto the Generals of the Fleet, to make such use thereof as they shall think fit."

"15*th*.—Letters, that divers of Prince Rupert's men stole away from him, and came to England."

"That the Committee of the Ordnance be desired to meet to-morrow morning; and to take care, that the powder-mills may not stand still for want of saltpetre at this time, when powder is so much wanted for the public service."

20*th*.—This day, the remnant or *rump* of the Long Parliament, which, by the sufferance of Cromwell, had continued to sit as a parliament from the time of the expulsion of their majority in December 1648, were at length expelled and dispersed by Cromwell in person; who was well aware of the contempt and aversion in which they were held by the navy. And here we must duly notice the judicial improvidence of Cromwell, in not inducing that parliamentary remnant to *dissolve itself*, according to the provision of the act of May 1641; as he shortly afterwards, in December of the same year, caused the spurious parliament which he immediately called to succeed it, to dissolve itself; which improvidence, latently prepared and nurtured the occasion and the means by which was eventually effected the restoration of the crown.

This has been already observed;[1] but it is here observed again, that the reader may hold it in his remembrance.

"*25th.*—This day came a declaration of the generals at sea, and the captains under their command, concerning the late dissolution of parliament, and their resolutions thereupon: as it was sent by the Lord General Cromwell, and his council of officers, to Vice-Admiral Penn, to be communicated to the commanders and officers of the ships under his command, for their concurrence therein, who unanimously assented thereunto: as followeth.

"GENTLEMEN,

"There being certain intelligence come to our hands of the great changes within our nation, viz. the dissolution of this parliament; we, the general, commanders, and officers, here present with this part of the fleet, have had a very serious consideration thereof, as also what was our duty, and incumbent upon us in such a juncture of time; and find it set upon our spirits, that we are called and intrusted by this nation for the defence of the same against the enemies thereof at sea, whether the people of the United Provinces, or others. And we are resolved, in the strength of God, unanimously to prosecute the same, according to the trust reposed in us: and have thought good to signify the same unto you, desiring you will take the effectualest course you can for the strengthening and encouraging one another in this work; and doubt not but the Lord, who hath done great and wonderful things for His people that have trusted in Him, will also be found among us, His poor unworthy servants, if we continue firm and constant in our duties, walking before Him in faith, humility, and dependence; not seeking ourselves, but His

[1] Above, page 9, note.

glory; which that we may all do, is the desire and prayer of your affectionate friends and brethren. From on board the *Resolution*, at the Spithead, April 22, 1653.[1]

Rich. Deane, } Generals.
George Monk, }

Capts. Tho. Crosby,
Saith Hawly,
Li. Lane,
Tho. Atkinstal,
Jo. Jefferson,
Giles Shelley,
Rob. Sanders,
Ed. Blagg,
Rob. Graves,
Jo. Limbry,
Rich. Stayner,
Fr. Park,
Ja. Peacock,
And. Rand,
Geo. Dakins,
Nich. Foster,
Capts. Jer. Smith,
Ben. Grimston,
Jo. Hayward,
Anth. Farning,
Will. Pyle,
Jo. Edwin,
Will. Haddock,
Th. Thor,
Will. Goodson,
Fr. Bunddidge,
Ro. Clarke,
Jo. Seaman,
Er. Smith,
Th. Hare,
Nich. Lucas,
Jonah Hide,
Will. Morock."

Answer of Vice-Admiral Penn.

"May it please your Excellency,

"Until now, I have had no opportunity to call the commanders of this part of the fleet together; when, and after reading your excellency's letter, with the 'Declaration,' which I received from the deputy governor of Dover Castle, they severally declared abundance of affection to this good work; voluntarily professing, in the presence of the Lord, to engage their lives, and all that is near or dear unto them, in promoting it, in every thing they are able; not in their own, but

[1] *Perfect Diurnal*, April 25 to May 2.

* face page 491, vol. i.

In their Expedition in May 1653, *under the command* [illegible] *with the Names of all the Commanders of the said Fleet, and the N*[illegible] *God's blessing on the said Fleet, they took and destroyed between twe*[illegible] *their own harbours. Also, a distinction of part of those Ships (by the*

The First Squadron.

The Red Standard and Flag, under the squadronal comm[illegible]*WSON, Esq., Rear-of the* GENERALS *above expressed.* *the Blue Flag.*

	Ships' Names.	Commanders.	Men.		Men.	Guns.
	Resolution	THE GENERALS	550	[illegible]q. Adm.	350	58
	Worcester frigate ...	George Dakins, Captain ...	220	[illegible]ptain	180	50
	Advice frigate	*Jer. Smith Captain	180	[illegible]	180	40
	Diamond frigate	William Hill	180	[illegible]	170	40
	Saphire frigate	Nicholas Heaton	140	[illegible]	150	38
	Marmaduke	Edward Blagg	160	[illegible]	200	40
	Pelican	*Peter Mootham	180	[illegible]	120	32
	Mermaid	*John King	100	[illegible]	120	30
P	*Golden Fleece*	Nic. Forster	180	[illegible]	110	32
	Loyalty	John Limbry	150	[illegible]	160	38
	Society	Nic. Lucas	140	[illegible]	120	30
	Malaga Merchant ...	Henry Collins	140	[illegible]	30	10
	Martin	John Vessy	90			
P	*Fox* fire-ship	—— Cornelius	30			
	Fortune fire-ship	Humphry Morris	30			
	Renown fire-ship	James Salmon	30			

The Vice-Admiral's Division of the General's Squadr[illegible] *Admiral's Squadron.*

	Triumph	James Peacock, Vice-Adml.	350	[illegible]e-Admi.	390	56
	Laurel frigate	*John Stokes, Captain	200	Captain	200	43
	Adventure frigate ...	Robert Nixon	160	[illegible]	260	38
	Providence frigate ..	John Pearce	140	[illegible]	120	32
P	*Bear*	Francis Kirby	200	[illegible]	120	38
P	*Heart's-ease*	Thomas Weight	150	[illegible] ..	130	34
P	*Hound*	Jonah Hide	120	[illegible]od	115	30
P	*Ann and Joyce*	William Pile	119	[illegible]	110	30
	London	*Arthur Browne	200	[illegible]	120	32
P	*Hannibal*	William Haddock	180	[illegible]	140	36
P	*Mary*	Henry Maddison	120	[illegible]	100	30
	Thomas and William	John Jefferson	140			

The Rear-Admiral's Division of the General's Squadr[illegible] *Admiral's Squadron.*

	Speaker frigate	Saml. Howett, Rear-Adml.	300	[illegible]ar-Adm.	300	58
	Sussex frigate	*Roger Cuttance, Captain ...	180	[illegible]ptain ...	210	44
	Guinea frigate	*Edmond Curtis	150	[illegible]	150	36
	Tiger	*Gabriel Sanders	170	[illegible]	120	30
	Violet	*Henry Southwood	180	[illegible]	120	34
P	*Sophia*	*Robert Kirby	160	[illegible]	120	32
	Falmouth frigate	*John Jeffreys	100	[illegible]	110	30
P	*Four Sisters*	Robert Becke	120	[illegible]	110	32
	Hamburgh Merchant	William Jessell	110	[illegible]	120	36
	Phœnix	Henry Eaden	120	[illegible]	40	12
				[illegible]	110	30

The General's squadron, consisting of ..... 38 sh[illegible] [illegible] of ..... 34 ships.
managed by ..... 6169 m[illegible] [illegible]y ..... 5015 men.
mounted with .... 1440 g[illegible] [illegible]ith ..... 1189 guns.

Besides these, there have come to the Fleet, and with Ge[illegible] [illegible]e given at present.

[illegible] [illegible]to order.

London: printed by M. SIMMONS, and are to be sold at his ho[illegible]
THO. JENNER, at the South Entrance of the Roy[illegible]

* The captains marked with an asterisk commanded ships, after the Re[illegible] [illegible]majesty's rear-admiral.

in His strength, as they desired me to signify to your excellency. The inclosed is the Declaration to the Generals of the Fleet, and commanders of that part of the fleet at Portsmouth, in answer to one from them; which I make bold to trouble your excellency with, not knowing of so safe a way of conveyance.

"Our fleet, at present, is somewhat dispersed, through the stormy weather we had yesterday and night. I have endeavoured our speedy meeting; which I hope will be to-morrow, when we shall proceed westward, in obedience to your excellency's and our generals' commands. Here are seven large Swedish ships, six whereof came voluntarily, the other we commanded in; all laden with masts, tar, pitch, deals, and other such necessary commodities; which, indeed, is a very seasonable mercy. I shall desire to know, with all possible speed, how they shall be disposed of; otherwise, they may be the occasion of our losing some time here.

I humbly take leave to be,

Your Excellency's faithful and obedient servant,

WILLIAM PENN.

"From aboard the good ship called the *James*."[1]

"*June* 3*d*.—This day 'twas observed, that the fleets were engaged again, and the report of the great guns was heard in places remote from sea.

"4*th*.—Letters from General Monk, of the fight at sea with the Dutch.

"*To the Commissioners for the Admiralty.*

"GENTLEMEN,

"Yesterday morning, being at an anchor some two miles without the south-head of the Gaber (Gable), early in the morning we discovered the Dutch fleet about two leagues to

[1] "*Old James*. Built at Deptford, 1633. Length of keel, 112 ft.; breadth by beam, 39; depth of hold, 16·2; depth of water, 17·8. Tons, 906. War, men 380; guns 70."—(Reg. of R. Navy, PEPYS's MSS. Bodl.)

leeward. We made sail towards them, and between eleven and twelve at noon we were engaged, and for three hours the dispute was very sharp on both sides, which continued from three till six in the evening, at which time the enemy bore away right before the wind; and little more was done, only the frigates gave chase so long as there was any light to distinguish the one from the other. One of the Dutch admirals was blown up, and three or four more sunk, as we are informed, but cannot hear that any of our own ships were lost in the engagement; blessed be the Lord! We are at this time very fair by them, and shall endeavour our utmost to engage, so soon as we can. It hath pleased the Lord to take away Major-General Deane in this encounter; an honest and able servant to this commonwealth. He was slain by a great shot. In this engagement, we have spent the greatest part of our powder and shot; and therefore I earnestly desire you will take care, that a considerable portion may be suddenly provided us, and sent; with such victualling and water-ships as are yet behind, to be ready in Yarmouth-road upon all occasions. I have mentioned it to the Lord General, that Vice-Admiral Penn may be added to make up our number,[1] of whose honesty and ability I hope you are well satisfied, and do desire it may be seconded by you, if you approve him. What ships are making ready in the river, may, as soon as can, be sent into Yarmouth, to attend all commands. This is the best account can be given at present. Your most affectionate friend and servant,

GEO. MONK.[2]

"From on board the *Resolution*,[3] 14 leagues from the North Foreland, bearing west of us. June 3, 1653, at 6 in the morning."

[1] As one of the Generals of the Fleet, in the place of Deane: he was so appointed in December following.

[2] From a MS. copy of the original amongst Sir W. Penn's papers. This letter, as printed at the time, is curtailed, and otherwise incorrectly given.

[3] "*Resolution* (afterwards *R. Prince*). Built at Woolwich, 1641. Length of keel, 125 ft. Tons, 1361. War, guns 100. Lost on the Galloper, 2d June, 1666."—(Reg. of R. Navy, PEPYS's MSS. Bodl.)

" *To the Lord General Cromwell.*

" June 4th, 1653.

" May it please your Excellency,

" Your lordship's of the 2d instant, with the inclosed intelligence, was this day received; and according to your excellency's apprehensions thereupon, we have engaged with the Dutch fleet. A brief account of the first day's action we have already sent unto your lordship. The next day, being the 3d instant, we did what we could to re-engage them; and, having the wind (which was but little), about noon we came within shot. After four hours' dispute with them, or thereabouts, they endeavoured what they could to get away from us; but having then a pretty fresh gale of wind, we pressed so hard upon them, that we sunk and took many of them, as appears by the inclosed list; and do suppose we should have destroyed most of them, but that it grew dark; and being off Ostend among the sands, we durst not be too bold, especially with the great ships; so that it was thought fit we should anchor all night, which we accordingly did about ten of the clock. This morning some of our ships descried the enemy again afar off, steering towards the Weilings (between the isle of Walcheren and the coast of Flanders); whereupon we resolved to pursue them so far as with safety we might; and to range along the coast till we came to the Texel (the better to improve the present victory God hath given us), unless we see cause to divert our course. We shall not further trouble your lordship, but subscribe ourselves,

Your Excellency's most humble servants,

Robert Blake,
George Monk."

"*A List of the Dutch prizes taken and sunk, with the number of prisoners, and number of men slain and wounded in our own fleet also, and other particulars of the fight.*

"1350 Dutch prisoners taken, whereof 6 captains, as is brought in by the several officers of the ships where the prisoners are. 11 Dutch men-of-war taken, whereof one vice-admiral, of 1200 tons, and 14 guns in a tier, and two rear-admirals; 6 Dutch men-of-war sunk, whereof 1 rear-admiral; 2 boys taken from the Dutch, that they had to fetch them fresh water; 2 Dutch men-of-war blown up amongst their own fleet: 1 Dutch man-of-war also sunk that was near them, by means of that accident; 2 Dutch men-of-war more fired, but were not spoiled: 1 fly-boat taken from the Dutch.

"126 of the English slain; whereof General Deane one, and one captain; also another, as hath been brought in by the several captains at a council of war; of which number there were 16 slain in the general's ship, and 3 in the *Triumph*, &c. 236 wounded, as was brought in by the captains to the council of war, whereof 8 in the general's ship, and 2 in the *Triumph*, &c. 2 or 3 English lost their bow-sprits, and a head or two, and a top-gallant mast. The general's sails were so shot to pieces and torn, that they were constrained to take them off, and bring all new sails to the yard. Some English ships shot in the hull, that need mending; but not one ship of the English lost in all the fight, in any of the days.

"The Dutch prizes are sent from the fleet to England, with those English ships that want repair; and also the Dutch prisoners, and the wounded men. By one that was with Tromp's fleet is certified, that they gave the men much strong water at the beginning of their going to fight, which made them, for six or seven hours on Thursday, very desperate; but afterwards, the strength of the drink being over, the men were abundantly cowardized: that the captains were so vexed that they tore their hair, and were much troubled, and

thirty of them forced to fly away; and Tromp going into a small frigate, sailed and shot after them, and yet could get back but thirteen."[1]

The following notes, and letter, are from Sir W. Penn's papers: the address of the letter is wanting.

" Friday, about noon, the fleets were fully engaged; the Dutch, taking advantage of the wind turning to westward, fought retreating all that day till ten at night, all the Dutch fleet keeping in a body; and, as they were asunder, our frigates presently took them off. That night our fleet, being amongst the dangerous sands off the coast of Flanders, came to an anchor. The Dutch stole away that night. Our fleet the next morning weighed anchor to seek them out; having view of them towards the Weilings all Saturday morning, being that day steering to the coast of Zealand: our fleet being between Ostend and Flushing on Saturday night, when the messenger came away. Our fleet resolved to seek them out, and was at twelve o'clock that night under sail to them, to lie on their coasts, and do their utmost to ruin them. Our fleet, with General Blake's, made up 126 men-of-war.

Prisoners, 1350.
Ships of war taken, 11; one whereof a vice-admiral, two rear-admirals.
Sunk, 6.
Water-hoys taken, 2.
Dutch ships blown up amongst their own fleet, 2; one whereof an admiral.
Sunk by disaster, 1.
Tromp, and 16 ships, fell upon the *Resolution*, who was at first alone.
Men slain in our fleet, 126; whereof one captain.
Wounded, 236.
No ships of ours lost.

" General Blake, with his thirteen, came in as the fight was ended; one of them, commanded by Captain (Robert) Blake, being a good sailer, charged through Tromp's fleet, and came to ours before the rest, but was torn."

[1] Several Proceed. in State Affairs, June 2 to 9.

Letter from Mr. Lyons, Minister of the Resolution.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"I could not omit, upon this occasion, to let your honour understand the goodness of God in His outgoings with and for His people, by sea as well as land.

"Wednesday, the first of this instant, our fleet being in Sole-bay, and standing along our own shore, we espied, about noon, two galliot-hoys that were upon scout from the enemy; to which several of our frigates gave chase, and stood very near their whole fleet; and then returning to our own, made the usual sign upon the discovery of a fleet. So, the alarum went through the whole fleet, who stood towards them; but the weather proving hazy and dark, we lost sight of the enemy, and stopped upon the tide again, expecting the coming out of those ships with General Blake. But Thursday, at day dawning, we saw the enemy's fleet to the leeward of us; and weighing all hands, we stood with them, but the wind failed us. By that time we drew near them, and the enemy stood lashing away; yet did the *George* (Rear-admiral Lawson), and his squadron, very hotly engage the enemy for some hours; so, Tromp declines engagement with our main body and flag, but bears up to relieve Ruyter that was hotly engaged by Rear-admiral Lawson, who, with his second, came very well off, and all his squadron (being the blue), both with safety and honour. And now, the wind bearing about to the eastward, the enemy takes the advantage, and comes with his whole power, and engages sharply for two hours, till ours had recovered the weather-gage again, and then he endeavoured to keep all as close together as he could, that he might make the best of his way without loss, dreading our great ships. His design was, our frigates would leave them astern, and then he would deal the better with them. But our fleet did work together in better order than

heretofore, and seconded one another; which I am persuaded, by God's providence, was a terror to our enemies, otherwise, for number and quality of ships, I am persuaded they could not but reckon themselves of an equal strength. But, Tromp is loath to play that game; he would not fight, willingly, upon even terms. However, God took away their hearts at this time, so that they fled from us this day, and the next too till noon; at which time we were within sight of Calais cliff, and Dunkirk. Here they tried their policy another way, to make away with the great ships, or make them unserviceable; viz. by engagement upon the sands, and in shoal water. But, herein God disappointed them; for, all our ships were preserved, and fought them gallantly most part of this day, one squadron or another, even till night; and then, the wind blowing pretty fresh, we were forced to come to an anchor, for fear of sands and shoal water in the night. The enemy will go where we cannot follow him, like the highlanders to the mountains.

"The first day, the greatest execution was done, but not visible to us, further than the blowing up of one great ship of theirs, and the sinking of another; but, the second day, we had the harvest, and gleaning of the vintage, and with less loss than any heretofore; not one ship, not one commander lost, save our thrice-worthy General Deane, who was shot into the body with a great shot, the first broadside. Yet, did God put a spirit of courage into the men, and made them valiant and vigilant. The enemy lost, that were sunk, taken, and destroyed, both days' service, about 20 of his fleet, of which were 2 vice-admirals, 3 rear-admirals.

"We are now in a good posture to follow the enemy, and keep the sea, which we were never afore; and if he will go among the sands, where we cannot follow him, I hope we shall lie so as to prevent his recruiting, and keep in all their merchant-men. Our loss being only in men, and those not any in command, speaks God's great hand of providence,

that hath given us such a bloodless victory comparatively; and, considering the great damage the enemy hath received, with so inconsiderable loss to us, makes me believe, that God hath accepted the tenders of peace; though the enemies do not, and will not, make a difference henceforward betwixt Israel and Egyptians.

"I can add no more, but my humble service to my lady, to whom I entreat this intelligence may be communicated; whose prayers, I doubt not, may claim a portion in this signal victory, which, I am persuaded, hath much in the bowels of it. I subscribe myself, in haste,

Sir, your honour's humble servant,

"Aboard the *Resolution*, off the Weilling, 4th day, 4th mth. 53." RICHARD LYONS.

"General Blake is seasonably come into the fleet with his squadron."

"Another letter from Mr. Lyons saith, that they saw General Blake, with his fleet, from their top-mast head. Rear-Admiral Lawson, with his squadron, was ordered to wheel about and fall upon Tromp, who, with all the ships he could, fell upon the *Resolution*, and maintained a sharp fight; but Tromp was forced to retreat, and go away right before the wind. Capt. Bourne, captain of the *Resolution*, writes, that he hoped for one hour more, to end the war; and others, that ere they have done, Tromp shall pay dear for Deane's blood."

The Dutch were commanded by Tromp, De Ruyter, De Witt, and Evertson. "The English (says "Colliber) had ninety-five sail of men-of-war, and five "fire-ships;[1] the Dutch had ninety-eight men-of-war,

[1] The number of the English ships given in the preceding paragraph, p. 494, agrees better with the list of the fleet in the Table.

" and six fire-ships." The most memorable individual incident preserved of this action, is the encounter between Tromp and Penn, recorded by the author of the "*Leven van Tromp*," or *Life of Tromp*. "Tromp, " (says the Dutch biographer) animated by reflec- " tions on his past glory, and by the hopes and " unextinguishable passion he had to maintain it to " the last, grappled Vice-admiral Penn, boarded him, " and poured many men into his ship; these being " repulsed, he was beaten off, and Penn, in his turn, " boarded Tromp, and poured in so great a number " of seamen on board him, that his men were forced " to fly all under deck. Upon which Tromp, finding " himself overpowered by numbers, thought there " was no other remedy but to set fire to some barrels " of powder, and blow up his deck, of which the " English had made themselves masters; which he " did so effectually, that in an instant the enemies " were blown up into the air. Yet, this blow did " not so much discourage the English, but they came " on and charged him again; and being again en- " tered by Penn and another at once, he had cer- " tainly been lost, had not De Witt and De Ruyter, " espying the great danger he was in, come up with- " out losing time, and disengaged him about seven " o'clock in the evening."[1]

That great success was speedily followed by another, of such commanding magnitude as to bring this sanguinary war at once to an end.

[1] Compare the Life of Cornelius Tromp, p. 128. 12mo. 1697; Columna Rostrata, p. 125; and Campbell, vol. ii. p. 182.

General Blake having fallen ill, and being unable to continue with the fleet, which was in daily expectation of a fresh encounter with the enemy, the Council of State, on the 9th of July, sent the following commission to General Monk.

"To Lieutenant-General George Monk, one of the Generals of the Fleet of the Commonwealth of England.

"Whereas the Council of State, by their commission dated the 23d of December, 1652, did constitute and appoint Colonel Robert Blake, Major-General Richard Deane, since deceased, and yourself, or any two of you, to be Generals of the Fleet of this commonwealth, and gave several directions and instructions in order to the managing and commanding of the same, to be put in execution by you, or any two of you: And whereas General Blake is necessitated to be on shore, by reason of some indisposition of body, we do hereby authorise and empower you, in the absence of General Blake, to put in execution, and act according to, all and every the powers, instructions, and directions given by the said commission and instructions, or any other orders, in as full and ample manner as by the said commission was appointed to be done by the Generals of the Fleet, or any two of them, until the parliament, or Council of State, shall give other or further order therein. Given at the Council of State at Whitehall, this 9th day of July, 1653.

(Signed) GIB. PICKERING, Pres."

"*Aug. 6th.*—Letters from Gen. Monk and Vice-Admiral Penn, of the late success against the Dutch."

"*Gen. Monk to the Lord President of the Council of State.*[1]

"On board the *Resolution*, off Camperdown,
July 31st, 1653.

"RIGHT HONOURABLE,

"How great and wonderful the Lord hath been unto this fleet, hath plainly appeared by his mighty and glorious presence going along with us, to the ruin of our enemies, and preservation of his poor servants; as will in some measure appear by the ensuing relation.

"Upon the 29th of this month (O.S.), about nine in the morning, the wind at N.W., having weighed anchor the night before from the Texel, a fleet was discovered by our scouts ahead; which, within two hours after, appeared to be the Dutch fleet, come from the Weillings, consisting of ninety-seven sail, or thereabout, whereof ninety were men-of-war, as far as we could discern. Whereupon we made what sail we could after them, fitting our ships in the meantime for an engagement; but the enemy tacked about, and stood away from us, when they perceived what we were; so that it was five o'clock in the evening before any of our frigates could come up to engage them, which they did; and about seven o'clock, this ship, with as many ships and frigates as made up thirty sail, engaged with them; the rest, being astern, could not get up; however, we fell to the work, and continued fighting till night separated us, which was about nine o'clock. After which time, it being dark, all hands were at work to bring some new sails to the yards, and mend our rigging, wherein we had suffered very much, in so short a time. There were killed outright in this ship, by this evening's dispute, about sixteen or seventeen, and twenty-five wounded, whereof fourteen dangerously. The enemy got the weather-gage of us this night, by standing to the northward, while we stood to the southward, supposing they were under

[1] From the Parliamentary History, vol. xx. p. 193.

our lee, which appeared to the contrary in the morning; for they were much to windward of us.

"Yesterday, little was done as to an engagement, both fleets finding it work enough to get off from the lee-shore, having the wind at W.N.W. blowing hard, with thick and dirty weather: which was the worst for us, being on an enemy's country.

"This morning, it being fair weather and little wind, both fleets prepared for a second engagement, the enemy bearing in upon us, having the wind of us. To this time the Lord seemed to encourage the enemy, by laying the scales, as it were, in a balance, so that neither could tell which had the better. But good was the Lord unto us, who knew the best time for manifestation of his own glory, in appearing for his own people, though unworthy of so great a mercy; for, about seven in the morning, the great ships from the Texel, being twenty-five in number, having made a conjunction with them the day before, there began a very hot dispute with them, which so continued till one in the afternoon, the enemy having the wind of us, whereby he had the opportunity of taking all advantages. Yet truly may we say, 'great was the Lord, and marvellous, worthy to be praised,' for his glorious appearance on our behalf; for by this time the Lord had so daunted their spirits, that they began to bear away from us, making all the sail they could with the remainder of their fleet, being not above sixty of their whole number; for, so far as I can gather, there cannot be less than thirty or forty sunk, taken, and destroyed.

"We are now in pursuit of them with some of our best-sailing frigates, being almost up with some of their sternmost; and our expectations still are great, that the Lord will perfect the work thus far begun and carried on; which I hope will be to the glory of His grace in us, as well as without us. The enemy had nine flag-ships when he first engaged, and now but one left; and Tromp's tied to the top-mast, so far as

I can discern. But I saw two of our own fired by the enemy's fire-ships, whereof one was the *Oak*, whose men were most of them saved; the other a fire-ship.

"In the fight, the *Resolution*, with the *Worcester* frigate, led the English fleet, in a desperate and gallant charge, through the whole Dutch fleet. Van Tromp's top-mast was shot down, which he would have set up again, but could not, and so was fain to put his flag upon his near masts. Those of the Dutch that are got into the Texel are much shattered; Tromp's vice-admiral sunk down by his side. I am,

Your lordship's humble servant,

GEORGE MONK."

"The next day, a letter from General Monk to the Lord General Cromwell, was read in the house, advising, 'That in the above engagement, the Dutch admiral, Van 'Tromp, was killed by a musket-shot in the left breast.' Also the following letter:

"*To the Lord President of the Council of State.*

"RIGHT HONOURABLE, August 1, 1653.

"Since mine to you yesterday (wherein I gave you an account of the goodness of God towards us, and appearance for us in the engagement with our enemies the day before, and that we were in the pursuit of them), there hath little been done; night drawing on, and the Dutch making directly to the Texel with what sail they could; so that it was not fit to be bold on that shore, not knowing how the wind may take us, many of our ships being much disabled; but gave orders to a small vessel or two to keep sight of them till the morning, and observe what course they steered; who returning, gave an account that the enemy steered the same night into the Texel harbour, and had boats with lights to guide them in. Whereupon yesterday, at a council of war, it was

[illegible] that the whole fleet should immediately set sail for Portsmouth [illegible] there to dispose of such things as were disabled, and to send away our wounded men and prisoners, of which a certain account cannot be given at present, but hope to do it very shortly. But I do present your lordship here inclosed with a general account, referring for conditions of the wives and families of those who are slain to your honour's tender care wherein I doubt not but you will have respect to their necessities. I remain,

Your lordship's most humble servant,

GEORGE MONK.

"August 3rd.—Letters came this day from Gen. Monk, and the like from Vice-Admiral Penn, in confirmation of the late great victory, with some addition of particulars: which being contracted, this is the sum: That we had sunk 30 of the enemy's men-of-war: taken 1000 prisoners, whereof Vice-Admiral Everson (the most valiant, and one of the best seamen in the fleet) is one: That we have lost on our side 250 men, and 700 wounded. Captains of ours slain, are Capt. Greaves, Capt. Cox, Capt. Chapman, Capt. Taylor, Capt. Newman, Capt. Crisp; and Capt. Peacock, dead of his wounds since the fight. Captains wounded are, Capt. Stokes, Capt. Seaman, Capt. Row, Capt. Holland, and Capt. Cubit. The enemy's loss is so great, that it cannot easily be imagined, but by conjecture about 3000; and that part of our fleet is returned into Stokes-bay with the prisoners and wounded men, and to take in provisions and ammunition."[1]

"The English," says Heath, "lost, besides the "*Oak* (and *Worcester*, burnt), the *Hunter* frigate, an "English fire-ship, who attended the orders of the "Rear-Admiral Lawson, whose behaviour this day,

[1] Whitelock, p. 562.

"as also of Vice-Admiral Penn, was very noble and "renowned."[1] And he thus gives the final report:

"The Dutch lost, and had burnt and sunk, 26 men-of-war; 30 were first reckoned, but two of that number got into the Elbe much torn, and two into Zealand; the particulars of whose captains taken prisoners were as follows: the rest were lost beyond our research, for the Dutch would never publish them.

English Captains slain.

Andrew	Capt. Tho. Graves (Rear-Ad. of the W.)
Golden Cock	Ed. Chapman.
William	John Taylor.
May-flower, merchant	William Newman.
Prosperous	Crisp.
Phœnix	Owen Cox, that took her from the Dutch before.

And 500 common men slain.

English Captains wounded.

Triumph	Capt. Peacock (died of his wounds).
Laurel	John Stoakes.
Dragon	John Seaman.
Portland	William Rous.
Assurance	P. Holland.
Tulip	Joseph Cubit.

And 800 common men wounded.

Dutch Captains taken prisoners (the slain unknown).

Cornelius Evertson, Vice-Ad. of Zealand, and captain of the *Zealand Lion*, 28 guns, and 130 men, sunk.

Glause Johnson Zanger, captain of the *West-Cappell*, 26 guns, and 104 men, sunk.

Andrew Fomeen, captain of the *Concord* of Zereck-Zee, 22 guns, 100 men, burnt.

Gerbion Scotter, captain of the *Golden Dolphin*, 30 guns, 110 men, sunk.

John de Hayes, commander of the *Garland*, formerly taken from us by the Dutch, 44 guns, 180 men, burnt.

[1] Page 348.

It is suspected there were more captains prisoners, but they were not discovered.

At least 4500 Dutch slain and wounded; and it was certain, of 120 sail, there returned but 90 to the Texel."

Communication from Holland, among Sir W. Penn's Papers.

"August 22d, 1653.

"Tromp came out the 24th of July (being the Lord's day) from Zealand, with 83 men-of-war, 4 fire-ships, and about 25 merchantmen. With these he plied to and again between Zealand and the Maes, till Friday the 29th July; at which time, at nine in the afternoon, the English fleet being drawn from before the Vly (Flie), they both engaged, and fought till night: the merchantmen being before returned to Zealand. In this engagement, Tromp had two ships sunk.

"Saturday, in the evening, De Witt, who lay at the mouth of the Texel with 25 men-of-war and 4 or 5 fire-ships, drew forth, and Tromp, sailing towards him, joined that night.

"The next morning, a little after five, the fleets drew near together, and before seven they were wholly engaged. By seven of the clock, Tromp was slain, being shot in the left pap with a musket-shot from the ship that bore the white colour, the first or second broadside. Notwithstanding, the Dutch continued fighting, and gave not over till they were quite beat off by the English; the Dutch having performed the best in this fight, above all their other engagements. Upon signal made, De Ruyter came on board the admiral, and found Tromp dead. The Dutch tended towards the Texel in a retreating posture; and came not into the Texel till Monday.

"Their officers, privately casting up the loss of their men in the late fight, upon comparing the lists of the ships and

men set forth, found that in all, of wounded men, those that are slain and drowned, and prisoners, the number amounted to 6200.

2500 wounded,
1000 prisoners,
1500 drowned,
1200 slain.

6200."

"In this cruel fight," says Colliber, "the English "agree, that the Hollanders lost between twenty and "thirty men-of-war, sunk or burnt, and five or six "thousand men. The Dutch author of Tromp's "Life, on the contrary, gives a list but of nine ships "which he owns were lost; but the Vice-Admiral "De Witt (who took upon him the command after "the death of Tromp) says, in his letter to the "States, that twelve or fourteen ships were missing, "and among them two vice-admirals, without men- "tioning any loss on the side of the English. Yet "the English confess the loss of two ships, the "*Worcester* and the *Oak*. The *Worcester*, they say, "having boarded the *Roozenkrans* (or *Garland* frigate, "formerly taken by the Dutch), was burnt, together "with her enemy: the *Oak* was likewise burnt, but "her men were saved. Though the English carried "off no ships, yet it seems, they (the seamen) so "generously assisted their enemies in distress, that "they saved about 1200 men of the ships that were "sunk, *notwithstanding the forbidding of quarter* (*by "Monk*)."[1]

Thus, then, fell the great Van Tromp, in the fury

[1] Pages 132, 133.

of action, by a musket-ball in his left breast, like our own great Nelson; but not, like Nelson, in the arms of Victory. "His funerals," says Heath, "were "ordered by the States of Holland to be solemnised "in the beginning of September, when he was in- "terred at Delft in great state, becoming so great a "captain, the honour and defence of his country, in "which he nobly fell. A person of great affection "to the family and person of our king, and very "much an Englishman in all things but his nativity. "Of such an interest in this war, that with him it "began, and with him expired; he being the soul "that actuated it throughout. In his glorious urn "we will deposit, therefore, this history and record "thereof."[1]

It is greatly to be regretted, that we have no official *naval* reports of the actions of this naval war; the government publishing only those sent by the generals, although they received reports at the same time from the vice-admiral, and other sea commanders. This appears to have resulted from the policy of rendering the army principal even in the navy, and throwing the navy into the background, even in its own proper service. If we possessed the accounts of the several actions as they were described by the naval commanders, we should probably obtain information respecting the disposition and movements of the fleets; the generals confining their relations to the point of fighting only. That loss is, in some degree, supplied on this occasion, by the following

[1] Page 349.

account of this great and decisive conflict, given by Hoste, from the report of a neutral eye-witness.

"*Combat du* TEXEL.[1]

"Un gentilhomme François, qui s'étoit embarqué dans une courvette, pour être témoin de la bataille, la raconte à peu-près en cette manière.

"Le 7 Aoust je découvris l'armée de l'Amiral Tromp, composée de plus de cent vaisseaux de guerre. Elle étoit rangée en trois escadrons, et elle faisoit vent-arrière pour aller tomber sur les Anglois, qu'elle rencontra le même jour à peu-près en pareil nombre, *rangé sur une ligne qui tenoit plus de quatre lieues nord-nord-est et sud-sud-ouest.*[2] Le 8 et le 9 se passèrent en des escarmouches; mais le 10 on en vint à une bataille décisive. Les Anglois avoient essayé de gagner le vent: mais l'Amiral Tromp en ayant toujours conservé l'avantage, et s'étant rangé sur *une ligne parallèle à celle des Anglois*, arriva sur eux, et commença le combat avec tant de furie, qu'on vit bientôt plusieurs vaisseaux démâtés, d'autres coulés bas, d'autres brulés. Les deux armées furent ensuite enveloppées d'une fumée si épaisse, qu'on ne pouvoit plus juger de la fureur du combat, que par l'horrible bruit des canons dont tout l'air rétentissoit, et par des montagnes de feu qu'on voyoit de temps en temps sortir du milieu de la fumée, avec un fracas qui marquoit assez que des vaisseaux entiers sautoient en l'air. En effet, plusieurs vaisseaux sautèrent; et on dit en particulier, que l'Amiral Tromp ayant apperçu trois vaisseaux Anglois qui s'étoient abordés, envoya sur le champ un brûlot si à propos qu'ils prirent feu tous trois en même temps, et sautèrent en l'air avec un bruit capable de jetter l'épouvante dans les cœurs des plus intrépides. Les Anglois soutenoient cependant avec une valeur incroyable

[1] HOSTE, p. 78.

[2] Here we find the fleet formed *in line*, twelve years before the date assigned by Macpherson to the first example of that order of battle in an English fleet.

tous les efforts des Hollandois, et on les voyoit périr plutôt que plier: ce qui chagrina l'Amiral Tromp, et le fit résoudre d'aborder l'amiral Anglois; et déjà les deux vaisseaux s'alloient accrocher, lorsque l'Amiral Tromp fut tué d'un coup de mousquet. Ce malheur fit perdre courage aux Hollandois, qui commencèrent de tenir le vent, et de ne plus se battre qu'en retraite. Le combat ne fut plus si ardent; et la fumée s'étant dissipée, on vit les deux armées dans un état qui marquoit l'horrible acharnement de l'action. Toute la mer paroissoit couverte de corps morts, de débris, de carcasses de vaisseaux qui fumoient, ou qui brûloient encore. On ne voyoit presque dans les restes des deux armées que des vaisseaux démâtés, et des voiles criblées des coups de canon. Il y périt près de trente vaisseaux tant d'un côté que de l'autre; et les Anglois, ayant poursuivé les ennemis jusqu'au Texel, eurent l'honneur de la victoire qui leur coûta aussi cher qu'aux vaincus."

TRANSLATION.

First Battle of the TEXEL.

"A French gentleman, who embarked on board a sloop of war to be an eye-witness of the battle, reports it nearly in the following manner.

"The 7th of August (N.S.) I discovered Admiral Tromp's fleet, consisting of more than a hundred ships of war. It was drawn up in three squadrons, and was bearing down, with the wind right astern, to fall upon the English, whom it met with on the same day, nearly equal in number, and *drawn up in a line extending above four leagues* N.N.E. and S.S.W. The 8th and 9th were passed in skirmishes; but on the 10th they came to a decisive battle. The English had endeavoured to gain the wind; but Admiral Tromp, having always kept that advantage, and having drawn up his own fleet *in a line parallel to that of the English*, bore down upon them, and began the battle with so much fury, that many ships were very soon seen dismasted, others sunk, and others on fire.

The two fleets were afterwards enveloped in a cloud of smoke so dense, that it was impossible to form a judgment of the fierceness of the battle otherwise than by the horrible noise of the cannon with which the air resounded, and by mountains of fire which every now and then were seen rising out of the smoke, with a crash which gave sufficient notice that whole ships were blowing up. In fact, many ships were blown up; and in particular, it is said, that Admiral Tromp, having perceived three English ships which had run foul of each other, immediately sent a fire-ship, which arrived so precisely in time, that they all took fire at the same instant, and blew up with a report capable of striking terror into the breast of the most intrepid. Nevertheless, the English sustained, with incredible valour, all the efforts of the Dutch, and were seen to perish rather than to give way; which grieved Admiral Tromp, and made him resolve to attack the English admiral; and the two ships were on the point of grappling, when Admiral Tromp was killed by a musket-shot. This disaster damped the courage of the Dutch, who began to bear to windward, and to engage only in retreating. The action was no longer so violent; and, the smoke dispersing, the two fleets were seen in a condition which shewed the horrible fury of the conflict. The whole sea was covered with dead bodies, with fragments, and with hulls of ships still smoking or burning. Throughout the remainder of the two fleets were seen only dismasted vessels, and sails perforated throughout by cannon-balls. Nearly thirty ships perished between the two parties; and the English, having pursued the enemy as far as the Texel, had the honour of the victory, which cost them as dear as it did the vanquished."

" Thus (says Colliber) ended the most vigorous " war that ever was maintained at sea, (for the war " was wholly naval). It was begun and finished in

" the short space of one year and eleven months; " yet, in that time, the English took no less than " seventeen hundred prizes, valued by the Dutch " themselves at sixty-two millions of guildres, or near " six millions of pounds sterling. On the contrary, " those taken by the Dutch could not amount to the " fourth part, either in number or value. Within " that time, the English were victorious in no less " than five general fights, some of which were of " several days. Whereas, the Dutch cannot justly " boast of having gained one; for the action between " De Ruyter and Ascue, in which they pretended to " some advantage, was no general fight; and the " advantage gained by Tromp in the Downs, is owned " to have been gained but over a part of the English " fleet."

This fierce and sanguinary day was conclusive of that great contest: the Navy of England alone, both sustained the war, and brought it to a triumphant issue; and they thus determined, summarily and practically, the long-disputed controversy with the Dutch, of the *Mare Clausum* and *Mare Liberum*, whilst the politicians sitting at Whitehall were endeavouring to determine it by translating, printing, and publishing Selden's book. In April of the following year, the Dutch yielded to England, by treaty, the honour of the flag. " *Mare Liberum*," said Secretary Coke to Sir James Boswell, the English resident at the Hague, in 1635, " must be answered with a defence of *Mare* " *Clausum*, not so much by discourse, as by the " louder language of a powerful navy; to be better

"understood, when our strained patience seeth no "hope of preserving her right by other means."[1] In that louder language, the English navy had now intelligibly and effectually spoken; and they willingly left the 200 copies of the translation of *Mare Clausum* to the Council of State, "*for their use.*"[2] And here I shall only speak with the voice of the national truth and justice, when I take upon myself to pronounce, that in the shocks of the great encounters of 1652 and 1653, the present naval glory of England struck its first root; and, that those who fought in them, have a sacred claim on their posterity to be regarded by them, for ever, as the planters of that glory:—as the solid and ornamental base of that high column, whose capital sustains the trophies of Trafalgar.

As this concession to England of the honour of the flag, by the States of Holland, in the treaty concluded at Westminster on the 5th of April, 1654, was the first formal concession of that honour by any foreign power, it is necessary that we should dwell a moment upon it. In the treaty of peace and alliance concluded with Holland after the restoration, in 1662, and in the treaty of peace concluded at Breda in 1667, a renewal of the article of the first treaty was demanded, and obtained, by the English plenipotentiaries; which article was copied, verbatim, into those two treaties, exchanging only the term "Commonwealth," for that of "King of Great "Britain."

[1] CAMPBELL'S Lives, &c. vol. ii. p. 116. [2] See above, p. 455.

When, in 1674, Sir William Temple negociated at Westminster the peace which terminated the following Dutch war, he exulted exceedingly at having secured the same honour for the British flag. In a memoir addressed by him to the Duke of Ormonde in 1673, he says: "The business of the flag has been "agreed by three several treaties in the same form; "but the articles still referring to former use, it re- "mains to discuss and agree particularly what that has "been, and to explain the manner and circumstances "of observing it."[1] And in another memoir, drawn up for his son, respecting the war begun in 1672 and concluded in 1679, he says: "The point of the flag "was carried to all the height his majesty could "wish; and thereby a claim of the crown, the "acknowledgment of its dominion in the narrow "seas, allowed by treaty from the most powerful "of our neighbours at sea, which had never been "yielded to by the weakest of them, that I remem- "ber, in the whole course of our pretence, and had "served hitherto but for an occasion of quarrel, "whenever we or they had a mind to it, upon other "reasons or conjectures. Nothing, I confess, had "ever given me a greater pleasure, in the greatest "public affairs I had run through, than this success; "as having been a point I ever had at heart, and in "my endeavours to gain upon my first negociations "in Holland; but found Monsieur De Witt ever "inflexible."[2]

The reader will find the articles in question, of all

[1] Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 240, 8vo. [2] Ib. p. 254.

the four treaties, in the Appendix;[1] but I am unable to discover the ground of this self-gratulation of Temple, or to discern in what particular he conceived that the last of the four exceeded the three former in largeness of concession. Those three articles successively consented to yield the honour of the flag to the ships of war of this nation in the "*British seas*;" the fourth consented to yield to them that same honour in the seas "*from the Land's-end to* "*the middle point of Staten in Norway*," that is, to the parallel of the most northern of the Shetland islands. In this alteration I see no extension, but, on the contrary, a manifest contraction of concession. All the four articles intended the same seas; but the last declined to admit the term "*British seas*," allowed in the former; and chose, preferably, to mark them only by a geographical description common to all nations. It said virtually, "We will confirm what "our predecessors conceded, with this exception, "that we will acknowledge *no British seas*." This, therefore, was certainly retrocession, not advance; so that, in this particular, Sir W. Temple appears to have been outwitted by the Dutch. If the article had subjoined to the geographical description, the words "*maribus Britannicis dictis*," there would have been ground for his exultation; but, as he suffered those words to be omitted, there was certainly no ground at all.

In his "Review of the Origin, the Elevation, and "the Fall of the Naval Power of Holland," Sir

[1] Appendix G.

W. Temple passes in perfect silence over the whole of this first Dutch war, and all the naval events and achievements that had occurred during the interregnum: and presents the victory obtained by the Duke of York, in 1665, in the second Dutch war (which he calls the first), as the blow that first brought down that great and wealthy republic. If his political philosophy was such as to recognise no intrinsic value in the sacrifice of blood and life, in dangerous toil and hard-won victory, for a nation's safety and glory: if it held these to be valueless, unless in relation to a particular standard, but otherwise meriting only forgetfulness: by what term shall we characterise it? Yet such was the cavalier philosophy of Temple. It was, indeed, the policy of the statesmen who entered into power through the restoration, to endeavour to merge in obscurity all events that had preceded that event, especially all those which could cast a true lustre on the preceding offensive period; and to strive to transfer to the restored monarchy all the glory which the reduction of the rival power of Holland was entitled to claim. But, it was neither the commonwealth, nor the protectorate, nor the monarchy of England, but her navy, that gained for her the mastery of the seas. The history of her naval achievements is a record totally separate from that of the changes in her government; and though the policy adopted at the last of those changes might have been prudent at the moment, the term of that prudence has long since expired, and truth and justice must henceforth

be supreme. The commonwealth sunk before the restored monarchy; but, amidst all those alterations, the navy of England, distinct from both, remained immutably the same; and the same warriors that in 1653 first decided the contest for the flag, in 1662, 1667, and 1674, only recalled to Holland the memory of the concession which, so many years before, they had extorted from her, and which they were determined to retain.

The claim to the honour of the flag has expired in the progress of civilisation, and its expiration none can regret. That it once existed, every one must rejoice, since it was the chivalrous stimulus that called forth all the energies of the English navy, and advanced it to that proud pre-eminence, in skill and valour, which it has ever since maintained. But, as it is a maxim of our common law, that every man has a right of way to his own field, so common reason has at length established the maxim of international law, that every maritime nation has a right of passage by sea to its own coasts, independently of every other state.

"Upon the news of this signal victory (says "Colliber) a day of general thanksgiving was ap- "pointed in England, and a narrative of the fight "ordained to be read in the churches. Several "chains and medals of gold were given to Monk, "Penn, Lawson, and others, for their great services "on this and other occasions. Silver medals were "likewise distributed among the inferior officers,

" and money among the seamen. Cromwell himself " put the chain about Monk's neck, and, inviting " him to a magnificent dinner, made him wear it " while he sat at table."

" *Aug. 6th.*—That it be humbly reported to the parliament from the council, that two gold chains, to the value of £300 a-piece, may be made, and given to General Blake and General Monk, as a mark of favour from the parliament, and a token of their good acceptance of the eminent services performed by them against the Dutch: and, that a chain, to the value of £100, may be made, and given to Vice-admiral Penn; and one of the same value to Rear-admiral Lawson, upon the same consideration."

" Friday, Dec. 2, 1653.

" Col. Mountagu,	Lord General,	Maj.-Gen. Disbrowe,
Col. Jones,	Sir Wm. Roberts,	Lord Eure,
Col. Cromwell,	Mr. Bennett,	Col. Fleetwood,
Col. Barton,	Mr. Anlaby,	Capt. Stone,
Col. Rous,	Ald. Tichburne,	Sir Chas. Wolesley,
Dr. Goddard,	Sir A. A. Cooper,	Mr. Sadler,
Sir Gibert Pickering,		Lord Lisle.

" That General Blake and General Monk be appointed and commissionated Generals of the Fleet, in pursuance of an order of parliament of this day.

" That the parliament be humbly moved, that Major-general Disbrowe, and Vice-admiral Penn, may be appointed to be two of the Generals of the Fleet; and that they may be joined in commission with General Blake and General Monk.

" That Rear-admiral Lawson be appointed Vice-admiral of the Fleet, instead of Vice-admiral Penn.

" That a warrant be issued to the commissioners for prize

goods, for payment of fifteen hundred pounds to Mr. Thomas Simons, goldsmith, in part of the two thousand pounds ordered by parliament for chains and medals to be given to the generals and officers of the fleet."

"*7th.*—That it be referred to the Commissioners of the Admiralty, to take into consideration the nominating of some fit person to the council, who may be appointed Rear-admiral of the Fleet, and to report the same to the council to-morrow in the afternoon; and also at the same time to take into consideration the letter from Mr. Longland, written concerning the deportment of Capt. Badiley in the engagement off Livorno, and to report their opinion thereupon to the council."

"*8th.*—That Capt. Badiley be appointed Rear-admiral of the Fleet."

"*An Act for constituting Commissioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy.*

"Be it enacted by the present parliament, and it is hereby enacted, that General Robert Blake, General George Monk, General John Disbrowe, General William Penn, Col. Philip Jones, Col. John Clerk, John Stone, Esq., Edward Horseman, Esq., Major William Burton, Vincent Gookin, Esq., Lieut.-Col. Thomas Kilsey, or any three or more of them, shall be, and are hereby constituted and appointed, Commissioners for ordering, managing, directing, and carrying on the affairs of the Admiralty and Navy of this commonwealth; and shall have, and have hereby committed unto them, all and every the powers specified in an act of this present parliament, entituled, *An Act for constituting Commissioners for ordering and managing the Affairs of the Admiralty and Navy;* and shall and may proceed therein, and execute the same according to the several rules and limitations expressed in the said act; and this act is to continue for the space of

six months, and no longer, from the third day of December, one thousand, six hundred, fifty-three."

"Saturday, the third December, 1653.

"Ordered by the parliament that this shall be forthwith printed and published.

"HEN. SCOBELL, Clerk of the Parliament.

"Printed by John Field, Printer to the Parliament of England. 1653."

I shall here make the remark, that Penn was the only seaman that ever received a commission of General at Sea. Blake, Popham, Deane, and Monk, who preceded him in that commission, and Mountagu, who followed him, were all field-officers of the army before they received a naval appointment, and the first appointment they received was a chief command; Disbrowe, also an army field-officer, was never employed at sea, only in the admiralty functions on land; Penn alone attained that commission after a progressive course, and a long and laborious exercise, in every successive stage of the sea-service. Those seven officers were the only persons that ever bore the style of General at Sea, or General of the Fleet; the extension of that commission to the Vice-admiral was, therefore, as much a public demonstration of deference to the victorious Navy in general, as it was a mark of applause and distinction to the Vice-admiral himself. This rank or denomination did not expire with the *Interregnum;* for, besides that Charles II. acknowledged it in the persons of Monk and Mountagu, who were so created to receive his

majesty on his return to England, we learn from Evelyn, that Monk was again appointed General at Sea by that sovereign, on the 8th December, 1665.

Thus terminated the first *Annus Mirabilis* of the English navy; "A year," says the author of the *Columna Rostrata*, "which three general engage-"ments (in which the English gained no less than "six victories) have rendered as remarkable as any "in the English annals." And that which enhances the issue of those engagements to the highest pitch of glory, is, that they were fought against an enemy equal in power, in valour, and in skill, and who, to the last, exerted all those means and qualities to the very utmost of his ability: thus adorning the pride of triumph in the victors, with a sentiment of honour and esteem for their great fallen adversary.[1] Such being the characteristic of this important year, I am persuaded that my naval readers will accept as a valuable memorial, and will justify me in subjoining to its record, the following *Journal on the* VANGUARD in this great naval campaign, copied from the original manuscript of Vice-admiral, afterwards Sir, Joseph Jordan, found among the papers of Sir William Penn.

[1] The English seaman who journeys through Delft, and who can endure to think that he owes professional instruction to an adversary, will not pass on without paying a visit of respect and honour to the noble monument of MARTIN HARPERTZ TROMP.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

March 31st.—I came to Portsmouth: there received order from the General of the Fleet to command the *Vanguard*.

April 1st.—In the morning, went aboard the *Vanguard* riding at Spithead: assured to the officers and seamen that I was appointed their commander, and examined the wants of men, &c.

2d.—Went aboard the vice-admiral, and admiral and commander of the ships there ready.

April 1st.—Went aboard the admiral, who, with the fleet, endeavoured to get to sea: but calms, and the wind southerly, prevented. A council was held, how to order the fleet, and how the home merchant-ships and prizes might with most security be conducted eastward. General Deane came aboard Admiral Penn, and it was ordered I should be vice-admiral, and Capt. Greaves, rear-admiral, to him.

2d.—The wind westerly. At break of day weighed: but falling calm, drove till tide was spent. About noon, wind came at W.S.W. and S.W., a fresh gale. We weighed with the whole fleet, and stood to the eastward: wind afterwards southerly, and S.S.E. About eight at night, tacked to the westward: at midnight, tacked to the eastward, wind veering about westerly, with small rain.

3d.—At eight in the morning were off Beachy, fair by the shore: the admiral sent the most frigates to scour abroad: wind westerly. I went aboard the admiral: inquiry was made there about a Dutch captain, one of the rear-admirals, and was found, with a Dutch youth, aboard an Ostender which came from Portsmouth in company with us. We anchored on Dover at eleven at night. Wind N.N.W.

4th.—Wind at N., and N.N.E. About noon weighed, and plied into the Downs, where being arrived, a council

[illegible] aboard the admiral, to signify, that pilots could

not be had for the fleet; therefore, the smaller ships were to follow the greater, especially the chieftain's; and it was further ordered, every commander to bring in, how long victualled, how manned, how long off the ground, and their several wants.

5th.—Calms, and little wind, variable, northerly, easterly, and southerly, with fog. Weighed with the flood, but falling, sheet-anchored. Immediately weighed again. About three hours after, wind at S.S.E.: very little wind, and somewhat foggy: anchored again presently.

6th.—Wind at N.W., foggy: weighed about six in the morning, but proving very foggy, anchored presently again. About three in the afternoon went aboard the admiral; received orders to call my squadron aboard, to take their wants of men, provisions, &c. We weighed, and new-birthed our ship: the wind at N.W., rainy.

7th.—Wind variable, northerly. In the morning, went aboard the admiral: weighed with the fleet about eleven: falling calm, anchored off Bradstow, about four afternoon. Presently after, came a gale southerly: we weighed, and drove with sails on the mast for a while, and anchored again: weighed about seven at night, and steered away N.E. till twelve at night, then hauled up for Orfordness.

8th.—Wind westerly: about six in the morning made Orfordness: came to anchor on Sole-bay (in nine fathoms) about noon: after, went aboard my admiral.

9th.—Wind westerly: sent our boat ashore for water; also sent empty casks aboard the smack, to fill water at Yarmouth. Went aboard the admiral to counsel: several letters from the council came in the interim, with positive order to sail to Scarborough, where our fleet of colliers lay with the convoy, (the enemy then about six leagues from them,) that we might relieve and conduct them, and destroy, if possible, the enemy; care being taken for pilot. Resolved, we should sail on the morne.

10th.—Wind westerly: whilst we were weighing, about five in the morning, we espied Capt. Lawson, rear-admiral of England, with a ship or two, coming toward us. After, we

made sail towards Yarmouth, to meet, if possible, with pilots sent for the night before. Standing that way, the pilots came aboard my admiral; where a council being called, it was resolved, in regard the wind was westerly, and almost night, by the pilots' advice, to anchor. Gave out fighting instructions, and divided the fleet in squadrons: Admiral Penn, of the white, chief; and Admiral Lawson of the blue; it being ordained that I should be vice-admiral to him.

11*th.*—Wind westerly: weighed about six at morn, and stood away to the northward. In the afternoon, went aboard my admiral, Capt. Lawson, who was then on board Admiral Penn, where I went, and returned with both of them aboard the *George*. About seven at night, steered away N.E. to go without the sands: the wind sudden at S.W.

12*th.*—Wind at W.S.W., and westerly, variable, with small showers of rain and hail.

13*th.*—Wind easterly: went aboard my admiral, and after that aboard Admiral Penn: wind proved variable; southerly towards night, afterwards northerly, and N.N.W.

14*th.*—Wind northerly, and N.N.W. This morn, at daylight, saw the high land of Dimlington: plying to windward we espied, about seven at morn, the fleet of colliers, come and coming out of Humber: we hauled without the sands.

15*th.*—Wind variable: calm on the morn: on the afternoon, wind southerly. About seven at night, anchored in eighteen fathoms, Yarmouth, by supposition, bearing W.S.W., about eight leagues distant.

16*th.*—Wind at N.W. About seven on the morn weighed anchor, and stood on W.S.W., and about one in the afternoon made Yarmouth, bearing W.S.W., about three or four leagues distant: steered away S.S.W. for Sole-bay, but anchored short in seventeen fathoms about eight at night: wind southerly.

17*th.*—Wind westerly: plied in the morning tide, and anchored about noon in Sole-bay, in ten fathoms water.

18*th.*—Wind variable, westerly: sent our boat ashore for water.

19*th.*—Wind northerly: went aboard Admiral Penn, who

expected present order from the Council of State that night, which came accordingly.

20*th.*—Wind variable, southerly. Went to Admiral Lawson; after, with him aboard Admiral Penn, who received a duplicate.

21*st.*—Wind N.N.W., variable. Went aboard Admiral Penn to council; the result thereof was, an answer to the Council of State's command for a conjunction with those coming out of the river, as also with the generals; to move at present to Aldborough-bay, and so to Long-sand heads, to give notice to those coming (from) the river, in case we met them not, to repair speedily thither; that so we might be in a posture to sail, to meet the generals with the fleet from Portsmouth. About ten in the morn sailed from Southwold bay, by order. I left the *Raven* to take up the boats and men left behind. Anchored in Aldborough bay, where twenty of the merchant men-of-war came to us this afternoon.

22*d.*—Wind variable: went aboard Admiral Penn to council; the result was (as by intimation from the Council of State), to join with the generals coming from Portsmouth.

23*d.*—Wind variable, at N.W. and easterly: the North Foreland bore S.W. and by S., six leagues distant, about four in the afternoon: about eleven at night anchored without the Goodwins.

24*th.*—Wind southerly and westerly. Plied with the windward tide, and anchored off the South Foreland lights, a little open to the northward: a great gust of wind took us at our anchoring. We had 32 fathoms water, about two and a half leagues from the Foreland.

25*th.*—Wind at S.W., blustering: sent my boat aboard a ship come through our fleet. Admiral Penn shot at him, and divers others: we shot, and commanded him to anchor: sent my boats aboard him. After, we weighed with the ebb, and came to the Downs. Went aboard Admiral Penn to council: the result was, unanimously, '*to engage against all 'our enemies, for maintaining truth and righteousness.*'

26*th.*—Wind at S.W. Went aboard Admiral Lawson and Admiral Penn.

27*th.*—Wind variable, southerly and easterly. Went aboard Admiral Penn, being sent for, to consider what course to take about the Swedish ships laden with masts, &c. Sailed from the Downs with the whole fleet, in the afternoon.

28*th.*—Little wind in the morning, easterly: after, calm and foggy: then off Beachy, two leagues distant. Afternoon, little wind, westerly.

29*th.*—Little wind, variable, westerly: met with the generals, who came to us: we, then, short of the Isle of Wight about four leagues. Went aboard the generals.

30*th.*—Little wind, variable, northerly and N.W. Went aboard the generals: the whole fleet be put into the several squadrons or divisions. This night stopped the ebb; weighed next morn with the flood.

May 1*st.*—Wind easterly, with small rain: anchored off the Ness in seventeen fathoms: weighed at seven at night, and ran nigher to the general, and anchored again presently; the wind then southerly, fair weather.

2*d.*—Wind at S.W. Weighed in the morn at five, and stood towards the Downs, off Dover. Espied fifteen or twenty sail towards Calais: the whole fleet chased, and found them to be several [*illegible*] to several places. A council was called aboard the general; the result thereof, to take the opportunity to fight the enemy.

3*d.*—Little wind, variable westerly: stood over for Holland's coast.

4*th.*—Little wind, easterly. In the morn, at daylight, divers fisher-vessels were espied: all chased: being very little (wind), sent boats after them, which took about forty. In the afternoon, went aboard the general to council: the result was, for many reasons, the fishermen should have their liberty, upon their engagement not to take arms against the commonwealth of England.

5*th.*—Wind westerly. At eight in the morn, Camperdown bore E. by S., about three leagues distant. Some small vessels, with a pilot-boat, were taken, which occasioned the generals to call all the flag-officers aboard, to communicate the intelligence of the Dutch fleet sailing from before the

Texel yesterday, at five in the afternoon, with about seventy sail of men-of-war, and two hundred merchant-ships, to convoy, as probably northward: it was resolved to follow them through the north channel.

6*th.*—Wind at S.E.; steered N.W. Went aboard the general to council: the result was, in answer to a proposition made, to send twenty frigates to get between Admiral Tromp and the fleet coming from France, to intercept their coming to Tromp, &c.; not to send them, but keep in a body together: most voices for this latter. Some provisions we took in this day, to complete two months'. Steered away this night with an easy gale N.N.W.

7*th.*—Wind at S.S.E. Took in beer, &c. to complete (as formerly). Steered N.N.W., and N.W. by N.

8*th.*—Wind southerly, and W.S.W., with some rain, blustering. Steered N.W. (close as we could lay). After, the wind came westerly.

9*th.*—Wind at N.N.W.; northerly, little wind. Tacked to the westward about nine in the morn: about noon, wind came to the S.W. (a gale). Stood in towards the shore.

10*th.*—Wind southerly. Went aboard the general to council: the result was, to send on all the fisher-vessels, taken formerly, into Aberdeen, (from) which place we, with the fleet, were about three or four leagues distant: accordingly, sent in the dogger-boats, &c. Several gentlemen came aboard the general, while we were aboard at dinner: the council consisting only of the flag-officers. About four in the afternoon, anchored in eighteen fathoms, it falling calm; to the northward of Aberdeen three leagues.

11*th.*—Wind westerly. Sent our boat to Carlington for a ton of water, &c. Set sail about four in the afternoon: steered for the Isles of Orkney.

12*th.*—Wind variable, westerly. About four in the afternoon, nigh the Isles of Orkney: this night, steered away thence for Shetland.

13*th.*—Wind N.W., and N.N.W. About four in the afternoon, were near Fairy-Isle.

14*th.*—At two in the morn, heard some guns shot in our

fleet, which was to give warning of vessels passed through; we also fired two guns, to give notice; we espied one fly-boat (that had) lost her fore-topmast; she bore afore the wind, then westerly. Some of our fleet chased, and took a small Flemish private man-of-war: arrived to Breesound (Bressay) bay in Shetland. Went aboard the general to council (only flag-officers), to resolve what course to bend, in case no news of Tromp, or (of) any of the merchant ships to come from France; then, to hasten to get water, ballast, &c., and to direct our course towards the Sound, to gain intelligence, and so for Holland, with intention to meet him; but determined to get water at this harbour, ballast, &c.

15*th.*—Wind W.N.W. At daylight weighed, and ran with all the great ships to the entrance of the harbour, the smaller ships further in, that we might dispatch our water aboard. Anchored in thirteen fathom, one point open to the sea, S. or S. and by W.

16*th.*—Wind at N.W. Got water aboard, &c.: washed our ship between wind and water.

17*th.*—Wind at N.W. quarter. Set sail, about nine at night, from Breesound harbour. A council aboard the general, what course should be thought most advisable at present for the advancement of the service: resolved, wind and weather permitting, the whole fleet should bend their course for the Riff, so to gain intelligence; and for the Texel, not finding any thing might prevent that resolution, (to) meet with the enemy.

18*th.*—Wind northerly: steered E. and by S., and E.S.E. Went aboard Captain Goodson, commander of the *Rainbow*, rear-admiral of the blue. Steered away E.S.E.

19*th.*—Wind northerly, little wind, and a whelming sea: steered E.S.E.

20*th.*—About eight at morn saw Shetland: wind northerly. Went aboard the general's ship in council, about trial of some officers pertaining to the *Raven*, &c., for misdemeanours; (who) were cashiered, the check ducked.

21*st.*—Wind at N.W. Went aboard the general to council (only flag-officers): the result was, hold on our course

for the Riff; to send scout to gain intelligence: without just occasion otherwise, to proceed, as formerly, for the Texel.

22*d.*—Little wind northerly; calm in the afternoon; steered along S.

23*d.*—Wind northerly; steered S., and S. and by W., and S.S.W. This day ducked John Overy, a soldier, for misdemeanour; also punished several seamen. Steered S.S.W.

24*th.*—Wind northerly; steered on S.S.E., and S.E. by S. Sounded several times: in the morning had twenty-four fathoms; about noon, eighteen; after, sixteen, fourteen, twelve; then saw the land about six at night, the beacon or brander of the Scheldt bearing S.E. by E. Stood off this night, till four next morning.

25*th.*—Wind at N.N.E.: tacked at four this morning, and stood on (east for the shore). About noon fell in with the Schelling island; the great fire-beacon S., or S. and by E., about three leagues distant: after, steered along the shore, near the entrance of the Fly. About two in the afternoon went to council: the result, to lie before the Texel, to prevent a conjunction with those twenty ships of war joining with Admiral Tromp (supposed, by all the probable intelligence could be gained), to the southward of our fleet, about Weilings or Goree.

26*th.*—Wind northerly. About eight in the morning, fair by the Texel: about noon, all the fleet chased, to speak with a vessel to windward.

27*th.*—Wind N.N.E. Went aboard to council to the general (only flag-officers): the result was, that the whole fleet should stand over towards Yarmouth, to join with about twenty sail of our men-of-war, supposed to be thereabouts; to leave scouts off the Texel, and Maes, &c., to take notice of the enemy's motion, that we might pursue.

28*th.*—Wind variable, easterly, with calms: steered over for Yarmouth.

29*th.*—Wind variable, westerly. About noon, made the land about Leostoff, six leagues off. Anchored about two in the afternoon, in twenty fathoms: after, the wind at S.S.W.

30*th.*—Wind variable, easterly and westerly. The flag-officers went aboard the general: the result was, that we

should ply two or three tides, to gain a conjunction with those ships ready about Lee road, or the Swin, and then attend the motion of Admiral Tromp; he having been on our coast lately, and no certain intelligence of his departure. This day, Captain Strong, in the *Unicorn*, with seven ships of war, came and joined with this fleet: tided up in the night tide, and anchored (being calm) with ebb.

31*st.*—Wind at S.W., S.S.W., and southerly. Weighed with the tide serving at four in the morning, and plied to Sole-bay: there anchored at noon (tide down) in thirteen fathoms: after, it proved blustering at S.W.

June 1*st.*—This morning, about daylight, the wind came to the N.W. and northerly, blustering. Weighed anchor from Sole-bay about six in the morning: laid by the Lee, about eight, for the fleet (astern) to come up. Espying two galliot-hoys, scouts of the enemy's divers frigates, chased to leeward upon them. The general, with the rest of the fleet, anchored in twenty fathoms, without the Shipwash. Our frigates plying, made signs they discovered a fleet. Admiral Lawson answered the said signs, to give notice to the general, who shortly after gave the signal to weigh; which the whole fleet did, and pursued them, and had sight of their whole fleet to leeward of us, four leagues distant. About two hours after, which was about four in the afternoon, sailed by my admiral, and that (*illegible*) part of his (squadron) which were the headmost, stayed awhile for the general's coming up, and many astern of him: which done, and the leeward tide come, the general anchored, and the whole fleet, in about thirty fathoms.

2*d.*—Wind at N.N.W., N., and N.E.; little wind all the day. At daylight espied the enemy's fleet, consisting of about ninety sail; they kept the wind: we made all haste by getting anchors up, and sailing to them. Proving little wind, it was eleven in the morning ere we came to engagement at a distance; two or three hours after, more closely. *My admiral (the blue)*, Lawson, *with myself and rear-admiral, were closely engaged (with some others): after that, the general, and admiral of the white*, came to a close engagement. Sunk three or four. All the night little wind: we kept fair by them.

3d.—Wind, this morning about four, came to the S.W. Went to council aboard the general (Gen. Deane slain): the result was, that we should pursue the enemy as far as the shoals would permit. They stood away close by the wind, to the southward; made a running fight along by Blanckenberg, and intended to have gone for the Weilings; but the wind veering to the W.S.W., and not tide beside, we beat them along the coast (till ten at night) towards the Maes this day. The fight began about noon; about four, a fresh gale sprang, (so) that our frigates came up with and plied (them) so hard, that those whose masts or sails were torn were soon seized on. Five of them, in a huddle, being foul together well defended (themselves), though Admiral Tromp had left them; (one was a vice-admiral, another a rear): at my passing a broadside into them, they cried for quarter, which was given. About thirteen this day were sunk and taken. The rear-admiral above mentioned, confessed our broadside sunk him. We anchored in thirteen fathoms, about midnight.

4th.—Wind at W.S.W. Went aboard the general to council: the result was, that the whole fleet should stand in to the shore, and so stand along to the Texel: Tromp, with his fleet, we suppose, got into the Weilings, or the Maes, this morning. General Blake came yesterday in the *Essex*, seven or eight ships in company with him: this night steered towards the shore.

5th.—Wind W., and W.N.W.: steered along the coast towards the Texel. This day took notice of my division's defects, wants, &c.: anchored at eight at night, off the Brill, about three leagues distant.

6th.—Wind northerly. Went aboard the general to council: the result was, to send ten or eleven ships which were most unserviceable, to convoy eleven of the Dutch ships of war seized in the fight, and about 1400 prisoners.

7th.—Little wind, easterly: weighed anchor in the morning, and put the Dutch prisoners aboard our ships appointed to conduct them. I sent Capt. Bartimeus Sudan, formerly commander of the *Golden Pelican* (lately taken in the battle), aboard the *Nonsuch*. We got aboard, from one of the rear-

admirals of Holland, two demi-cannons of brass, and two iron pieces.

8*th.*—Wind southerly: rain and blustering till noon; after that, fair weather. Steered along the coast (fifteen and sixteen fathoms water).

9*th.*—Calms, and wind southerly. Went aboard divers of my division, by order from the general, to survey what powder and shot they had aboard.

10*th.*—Wind southerly. Went aboard the general to a general council of war: the result was, with the whole fleet to ply to and again near the Texel; and to send some ten frigates and ships, which are foul, to clean at Harwich, and to return with all possible speed to the fleet. Were this evening within two leagues of the land (the island called Ireland), a little to the northward of the Texel Isle.

11*th.*—Wind blustering at S.W., and S.W. and by W. Divers small vessels with water, victuals, and ammunition, came to the fleet this day; also two or three small ships of war. We plied off the Texel.

12*th.*—Wind at W.S.W., rainy. In the afternoon plied. The general sent for me to dinner; but not well, desired excuse by my servant. Colonel Goff, Major Bourne, and Captain Hatsell came to the generals about some business, and to congratulate them, &c.

13*th.*—Wind at S.S.W., and S.W. and by S. I went aboard the general, with papers about the wants of my division. Stood in this afternoon, and could but (*illegible*) the Fly: stood off at night.

14*th.*—Calms, and little wind in the morning; in the afternoon a small (gale) easterly. This day went aboard the general; first, aboard the vice-admiral of the fleet: anchored this night.

15*th.*—Foggy weather. Went aboard my admiral; after that, on board the general: no sooner there, than a signal was given of some ships seen in the offing. The whole fleet weighed, and stood toward them: found it to be some ships come from England to us. This day received a supply of fifty barrels of powder and some shot, for my division.

16*th.*—Wind at N.E. Stood in, and anchored, about eleven morn, two leagues to the southward of Texel (a fresh gale of wind). Went aboard my admiral; after that, aboard the vice-admiral of the fleet.

17*th.*—Wind at N.E. Continued at anchor (before the Texel): wind shifted this night southerly.

18*th.*—Wind at S.S.W., blustering. Weighed anchor about noon, and stood off: anchored about four afternoon, about six leagues off.

19*th.*—At eight in the morning weighed (wind at W.N.W.), having seen some ten sail to windward: one passed by the fleet, some chased after her.

20*th.*—Wind at N.W. Went aboard Admiral Penn; where it was confirmed, the Dutch ambassadors arrived in England Friday last.

21*st.*—Wind at N.N.W. Went aboard Admiral Penn.

22*d.*—Wind northerly. Weighed anchor about eight in the morn, and stood in towards the shore: made the land, being off (the) Isle Ireland: stood off again: the frigates set to ply off the Fly and Texel, with three prizes; they sunk two: they (*illegible*), which was bound into the Fly: five escaped.

23*d.*—Wind at N.W. Plied, and went aboard Vice-admiral Lane; then aboard the general, and after aboard Admiral Penn.

24*th.*—Wind westerly, blustering: stood off till four afternoon; then anchored on seventeen fathoms.

25*th.*—Wind at N.N.W.; at night, came to the W.S.W.

26*th.*—Wind westerly; rain in the night, and wind at N.W.

27*th.*—Wind N.W.: about four in the afternoon, wind came to W.S.W: then weighed anchor, and plied to and again: this night much rain.

28*th.*—Wind at W.S.W., variable: this day arrived the *Assistance* and *Falmouth* frigates.

29*th.*—Wind variable, westerly. Went aboard the general, to a general council: the result was, for several reasons (debated), the whole fleet should convoy those prizes taken;

especially two ships taken with 360 pieces of ordnance, for Sole-bay; there take ballast, water, &c.; so to fit, to be in a capacity suddenly to return to the enemy's coast, or what might most conduce to the public advantage.

30*th.*—Wind blustering at S.W., and S.S.W.: stood to the westward on our courses.

July 1*st.*—Wind at S.W. by S., rainy: stood to the westward.

2*d.*—Wind southerly. At noon, made the land: steered in about Scarborough: coming night, wind veered about westerly (off the shore), and varied southerly again: soon after, to the N.W., a small gale: steered away S.E.

3*d.*—Wind at N.W., a fair gale: steered away S.E., and S.E. by E.: calm in the evening.

4*th.*—Wind at W.N.W., and N.W.: made the land of Norfolk, about Winterton; after that, Yarmouth.

5*th.*—Wind northerly: arrived to Sole-bay, about eight in the morn: went aboard my admiral.

6*th.*—Wind at E.N.E.: went aboard the general: got order about provisions: took some in: went this afternoon aboard Rear-admiral Goodson.

7*th.*—Wind southerly: took in provisions: from the Thames came the *Phœnix*, and some other frigates, to the fleet.

8*th.*—Wind at S.S.W.: took in more provisions.

9*th.*—Wind variable, southerly: washed our ship betwixt wind and water, and took in more provisions.

10*th.*—Calms, and little wind, southerly, and S.E.: took in some water this morning, and unmoored ship.

11*th.*—Wind southerly and northerly: weighed anchor about six this morning, and stood off; but falling calm, anchored at nine: weighed, with the wind northerly, about two afternoon; but the fleet on the shore not getting (it), we anchored at five.

12*th.*—Wind variable, northerly and easterly: weighed about eight in the morn (windward tide serving): anchored again at the flood.

13*th.*—Wind at N.N.E.: (weighed) about ten in the

morning, with the ebb; anchored about five in the afternoon: the *Laurel* came in, and passed by with two prizes (as conceived), to convoy them to the land.

14*th.*—Wind N.N.E.: weighed about noon: plied with the ebb, and anchored at the flood, about seven at night, on eighteen fathoms.

15*th.*—Wind N.N.E.: weighed at noon, and plied all day; and the night following, stood off till four the next morning.

16*th.*—Wind northerly. About noon descried the land, Egmont, about four leagues, bearing E., or E. by S. This day, my lieutenant, Robert Key. Tubb received commission to be captain of the *Exchange*, merchant, whom, according to command, immediately I sent him to the said ship in my ketch: plied to windward: all this night stood off.

17*th.*—Wind northerly, and N.N.W.: plied with all sail to windward: in the afternoon, wind veered to the N.W.: thick and hazy.

18*th.*—Wind northerly, and N.N.E.: plied to windward: made the land this day, between Camperdown and the Texel. Went aboard the vice-admiral of the fleet to dinner.

19*th.*—Wind at N.N.E.: stood in to the shore, within a league of Camperdown: about noon stood off again. Went aboard the general; after, aboard my admiral.

20*th.*—Wind at N.N.E.: plied off Camperdown. Went aboard Rear-admiral Graves to dinner: came to anchor in fourteen fathoms, at eight at night.

21*st.*—Wind at N.N.E., an easy gale. Weighed anchor about five morn, and plied till about noon, and then anchored. This day, at morn, went aboard the general to council: the result was, the fleet should ply near, as with convenience, to the Texel, to prevent a conjunction of those ships there with Admiral Tromp; to call off those from the Fly, and send only four small vessels to ply there; to send a smack, or some other vessel the general should appoint, to go for Hamburgh, about powder designed to come thence to England. About six at night, weighed and plied; anchored about ten at night.

22*d.*—Wind at N.N.E. Went aboard of Rear-admiral Howett to dinner.

23*d.*—Wind easterly. At daylight this morning espied a fleet of ships (about thirty sail) standing to the westward: made the signal. About six morning, weighed anchor, and plied in towards the shore: anchored about two in the afternoon, about three leagues off the entrance of the going to Texel. This day arrived the *Pelican*, *Dragon*, *Nonsuch* frigates (and divers others); all fourteen, that came from England together.

24*th.*—Wind at N.E., and E.N.E.; afterward northerly, and N.N.W.

25*th.*—Wind at N.W. Went aboard my admiral in the afternoon.

26*th.*—Wind at W.N.W., foggy in the morning; then the ships in the Texel turned down to the outer part of the Channel, as we conceive, to have got out and away (in the fog), to join with Admiral Tromp.

27*th.*—Wind variable, S.W., and W.N.W., blustering. Went aboard the general to council: the result was, we should ply under sail, as near as with safety to the Texel, in order to be in a fit posture to avoid danger in riding, and to meet with Admiral Tromp; having an eye to prevent his conjunction with those in the Texel.

28*th.*—Wind westerly, and N.W., blustering. This day arrived several vessels and frigates from England. About eight at night weighed with the wind at W.S.W., and stood off all night to the northward.

29*th.*—Wind westerly. Plying off the Texel, about noon, espied a fleet (which we conceived to be Admiral Tromp) to the southward, steering to gain the wind of us; which they might have done, but they tacked, and stood to the southward. We chased; the frigates flying before came to engagement about five in the afternoon; the general, vice-admiral, and rear-admiral, about six at night: myself followed the general, seeing no good (ships) by to assist him, he then to leeward. We continued the fight till nine at night.

30*th.*—Wind at W.; blowing so hard in gusts, could

scarcely keep our top-sails half-mast high; sometimes down as low as could stand. Admiral Tromp's ship stood close after us to the southward this morning, within shot, and fired several pieces till that he came nigh; then, the general, and we, and some, tacked after him: he stood about to the northward, and bore towards his fleet to leeward of him. Our whole fleet stood after, with what sail they could make. It pleased God, at night, to bring the wind to the N.N.W., yet we could lay it off the shore.

31*st.*—Wind southerly. About eight in the morn, having stood off all the former night (W.S.W., wind at N.W.), we came to engagement with the enemy. About seven in the morn, my general tacking to meet them, each division followed. Most of the enemy weathered us, the rest were scattered. We strove to gain the wind, which the enemy kept, though many of their ships' masts were shot by the board; others sunk, to the number of twenty. At last God gave us the wind; upon which advantage the enemy run, and we pursued, and continued the fight till eight at night. A little before that, one of their vice-admirals was sunk. Our fleet followed the enemy till about midnight; then the wind veering about to the W.S.W., rain and thick weather forced our standing off to keep it from the shore; several ships' and frigates' masts, &c. being much shattered; our ship, at her lower mast, unserviceable: divers shot under water we could not stop: five men slain: about 15 wounded, three of them dismembered.

August 1*st.*—Wind at W.S.W. Went aboard the general to a general council; the result was, considering the defects and wants of the fleet, to go for Southwold-bay to receive recruits.

2*d.*—Wind variable, with rain, lightning, and thunder: toward the night plied to windward.

3*d.*—Wind variable, westerly and southerly; fair weather: plied till eight at night, then anchored in 24 fathoms.

4*th.*—Wind southerly: weighed anchor about nine in the morning: stood to the westward. Anchored at four in the

afternoon, Yarmouth steeple bearing W.N.W., about five leagues distant.

5*th.*—Wind variable, southerly and westerly. Weighed anchor about nine on the morn, and plied with the tide to Sole-bay: went aboard the general to council; the result was, to see what ships fit for present service; the rest to be sent in speedily to repair.

6*th.*—Wind at S.W.: weighed about noon, and anchored a little short of Aldborough.

7*th.*—Wind variable, westerly: weighed about noon, and plied up to Aldborough-bay; there anchored.

8*th.*—Went aboard the general; and in the afternoon, ashore, to the burial of Rear-Admiral Graves: wind variable, southerly and westerly.

9*th.*—Wind variable, westerly. Went aboard the general; after, aboard my admiral.

10*th.*—Wind variable.

11*th.*—Wind variable, southerly and westerly. Went aboard the general: the Commissioners of the Admiralty were aboard with the general.

12*th.*—Wind variable, southerly. Went aboard the general to a council: the result was, order to expedite some ships presently, and about thirty sail to be ready next Monday. The Commissioners of the Admiralty were aboard.

13*th.*—Wind at S.W. The *Ruby*, *Pelican*, *Amity*, &c. set sail hence this morn.

14*th.*—Wind blustering, rainy, at S.W.

15*th.*—Wind westerly. Went aboard the general.

16*th.*—Wind variable. Went aboard the general: received order about receiving ammunition, and supplying those of my division appointed for the sea.

17*th.*—Wind variable. Went aboard the general to council, in order to dispatch away the fleet appointed for the sea. A court-martial was held about Captain Dry, his taking some sturgeon and cucumbers out of a Dantzic vessel; and though he had made satisfaction for all damages done by him or his company to the master of said vessel, yet, in respect of not

observing discipline, being found breaking the 7th article, the court awarded him to take his choice, either to be discharged the service, or pay double damages; the latter he chose.

18*th.*—Wind stormy, with rain at N.N.E., and N.E. by N. Our ship drove about nine in the morn, and narrowly escaped by the side of the *Unicorn*, who had veered for us, being astern of her; we let fall our sheet anchor, and drove nigh the *Matthias*.

19*th.*—Wind at N.W.

20*th.*—Wind at S.W. and N.W., variable; the fleet with Rear-Admiral Lawson sailed from hence toward Sole-bay,

21*st.*—Wind at N.W.

22*d.*—Wind at S.W., blustering; went aboard the general.

23*d.*—Wind at W.N.W.

24*th.*—Wind variable, N.W. quarter; went aboard the general.

25*th.*—Wind at N.W. quarter; went aboard the general.

26*th.*—Wind at W.N.W.: the *James*, with divers others, came hither from (*illegible*) bay, she having set her masts there. Went aboard the *James*.

27*th.*—Wind at W.N.W., and westerly: went aboard the *James*.

28*th.*—Wind westerly.

29*th.*—Wind variable, northerly and easterly: went aboard the general and my admiral: the general, about three afternoon, sailed; tide being down, anchored about a league to the westward.

30*th.*—Wind at W.S.W. Weighed anchor from Southwold-bay, and plied with the windward tide towards the river, off Sheerness, having received order from my general to carry the ship for Chatham: anchored about one in the afternoon.

31*st.*—Wind at S.W. and S.S.W.: weighed, and plied with the tide: anchored somewhat above the Gunfleet.

September 1*st.*—Wind at S.W.: weighed about nine morn, with the flood, and anchored with the ebb, nigh the buoy of the middle ground.

2*d.*—Wind westerly: weighed about nine, and plied about

the *ooze edge* within two miles of the Nore, from whence sent an express unto the Secretary of the Committee of the Admiralty, with a letter to them, and the Commissioners of the Navy, desiring order about the disposal of my men, and the ship. Sent also a letter to Commander Pett, for a long-boat and *fadgeancer*.

3*d*.—Little wind, at S.W. About ten in the morning, weighed, and tided it into the river of Queensborough: anchored, tide down, about two miles up.

4*th*.—Wind variable, southerly, and S.W. Weighed at noon with the flood, and turned up to Upnor Castle; there, accidentally touched ashore with our stern before the ship could wind; got an anchor out, and heaved her off before a full sea, and there moored.

5*th*.—Wind at N.W.: waited for order. Went ashore to Upnor, to visit Captain Harrison at the castle.

6*th*.—Wind westerly and southerly: warped up to the mooring appointed nigh the dock. Went aboard the *Speaker*, to Vice-Admiral Howett. In the afternoon, went ashore to the dock: returned at eight at night.

7*th*.—Wind southerly: stormy, with much rain.

8*th*.—Wind westerly: went to walk ashore an hour, and returned aboard again. The Commissioners of the Navy came to Chatham this evening.

9*th*.—Wind at S.W. Went ashore to wait on the Commissioners of the Navy: returned aboard at noon.

APPENDIXES.

APPENDIX A.

"A Sea Grammar, &c. *Written by Captain John Smith, sometime Governor of Virginia, and Admiral of New England. Printed,* 1627; *reprinted,* 1652.

(Extracts.)

To page 2.

"Chap. XV.—For to learne to observe the altitude, latitude, longitude, amplitude; the variation of the compasse; the sun's azimuth and almicanter;[1] to shift the sunne and moone, and know the tides; your roomes; pricke your card: say your compasse; and get some of these bookes, but practice is the best.

"Master Wright's Errours of Navigation.
Master Tapp's Seaman's Kalender.
The Art of Navigation.
The Sea-Regiment.
The Seaman's Secret.
Waggoner.
Master Gunter's Workes.
The Seaman's Glasse for the Scale.
The New Attracter for Navigation.
Master Wright, for the Use of the Globe.
Master Hewes, for the same.[2]

"*Instruments fitting for a Seaman.*

"Compasses, so many paire and sorts as you will; an astrolobe quadrant; a crosse-staffe; a backe-staffe;[3] an astrolobe; a nocturnall."

[1] "*Almucantar*, an Arabic term, designating the circles which are supposed "to be drawn parallel to the horizon, and to pass through every degree of the "meridian."

[2] Some of the books here mentioned, are noticed in the article "Navigation," in Dr. Burney's edition of Falconer's Marine Dictionary,

[3] For these two old instruments for taking the sun's altitude, see those articles in Burney's F. Dict.

To page 125.

"CHAP. XIV.—*A Table of proportion for the weight and shooting of great ordnance.*

		The names of the great peeces.	The height of the peeces.	The weight of the peeces.	The weight of the shot.	The weight of the powder.	The breadth of the bulle.	The length of the bulle.	240 lbs. of powder make a shot to a	Shot point blank to	Shot random to
			Inches.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Pounds.	Inches.	Inches.	Paces.	Paces.	Paces.
These peeces be most serviceable for battery, being within 80 paces to their marke, which is the chiefe of their forces.	1	A Cannon Royall	8½	8000	66	30	13½	24½	80	16	10150
	2	A Cannon	8	6000	60	27	12	24	85	17	9000
	3	A Cannon Serpentine	7½	5500	53½	25	10½	23½	90	20	8000
	4	A Bastard Cannon	7	4500	41½	20	10	23½	120	16	1800
	5	A Demy Cannon	6½	4000	30½	16	9½	23½	135	17	1700
	6	A Cannon Petro	6	3000	24½	14	9	22	171	16	1600
These peeces be good and also serviceable to be mixt with the above ordnance for battery to peeces, being crost with the rest; as also, fit for castles, forts, and walls, to be planted, and for defence.	7	A Culvering	5½	4500	17½	12	8½	22½	200	20	2500
	8	A Basilisco	5	4000	15½	10	7½	22	240	25	3000
	9	A Demy Culvering	4½	3400	9½	8	6½	21	300	20	2500
	10	A Bastard Culvering.....	4	3000	7	6½	6	20	300	16	1900
	11	A Sacre	3½	1400	5½	5½	5½	16	400	17	1700
	12	A Minion	3¼	1000	4	4	4½	17	600	16	1600
	13	A Faulcon	2½	600	2½	2½	4½	15	1067	15	1500
	14	A Faulcon	2½	800	3	3	4½	15	800	15	1500
These peeces are good and serviceable for the field, and most ready for defence.	15	A Faulconet	2	800	1½	1½	3½	11½	1950	14	1400
	16	A Serpentine	1½	400	½	½	2½	10	*7200	13	1300
	17	A Rabonet	1	300	¼	¼	1½	6	4800	12	1000

(N.B.— The above Table has been collated with that in edit. 1652.)

(* Perhaps 2700.)

"Note.—That seldome in ships they use any ordnance greater than demy-cannons; nor have they any certainty, either at point blanke, or any random.

" Note.—Your serpentine powder, in old time, was in meale, but now corned and made stronger, and called *cannon corne-powder*.

" But that for small ordnance is called *corne-powder fine*, and ought to have in strength a quarter more; because those small pieces are better fortified than the greater.

" Now, if you have but one sort of powder for all, abate ¼ part, and cut off ¼ of the bredth and length of your ladle.

" But cartrages are now found the best and most readiest.

" Provided alwaies, that all shot must be a quarter lesse than the height of the piece."

To page 131.

" CHAP. XIV.—*Fire-workes* are divers, and of many compositions: as, arrowes trimmed with wildfire, to sticke in the sailes, or ships' sides, hot burning; pikes of wildfire, to strike burning into a ship's side, to fire her."

To page 168.

See reference to page 125.

To page 237.

" CHAP. II.—*Graving*, is onely under water; a white mixture of tallow, sope, and brimstone; or train-oile, rosin, and brimstone boiled together, is the best to preserve her calking, and make her glib and slippery to passe the water."

To page 394.

" CHAP. IX.—We say a ship doth labour much, when she doth rowle much any way; but if she will neither try nor hull, then *spoone*, that is, put her right before the wind. This way, although shee will rowle more than the other; yet, if she be weake, it will not straine her any thing so much in the trough of the sea, which is, the distance betwixt two waves or billowes."

To page 402.

" CHAP. XIII.—*How to manage a Fight at Sea, with the proper tearms in a Fight largely expressed; and the ordering a Navy at Sea.*

" For this master-peece of this worke, I confesse I might doe better to leave it to every particular man's conceit as it is, or those

of longer practice or more experience; yet, because I have seene many bookes of the art of warre by land, and never any for the sea; seeing all men so silent in this most difficult service; and there are so many young captaines, and others that desire to be captains, who know very little, or nothing at all to any purpose; for their better understanding I have proceeded thus farre. Now, for this that followes, what I have seene, done, and conceived by my small experience, I referre me to their friendly constructions and well-advised considerations.

" A saile! How beares she, or stands shee? to wind-ward or to lee-ward? Set him by the compasse. He stands right a-head; or on the weather-bow, or lee-bow. Let flie your colours, if you have a consort; else not. Out with all your sailes: a steady man to the helme: sit close, to keepe her steady. Give him chase, or fetch him up. Hee holds his owne; no, we gather on him.—Captaine, out goes his flags and pendants; also his waste-clothes and top-armings (which is a long red cloth about three quarters of a yard broad, edged on each side with calico, or white linnen cloth, that goeth round about the ship on the outsides of all her upper workes, fore and aft, and before the cubbridge heads; also about the fore and maine-tops, as well for the countenance and grace of the ship, as to cover the men from being seene).—He furles and slings his maine-yard; in goes his spret-sail. Thus they use to strip themselves into their short sailes, or *fighting sailes*, which is only the fore-saile, the maine and fore-top sailes; because the rest should not be fired nor spoiled; besides, they would be troublesome to handle, hinder our sight, and the using our armes. —He makes ready his close fights, fore and aft.

" Master! how stands the chase?—Right on head, I say. Well, we shall reach him by and by.—What! 's all ready? Yea, yea!—Every man to his charge: dowse your topsaile, to salute him for the sea: haile him with a noise of trumpets: ' Whence is your ship?'—' Of Spaine; whence is yours?'—' Of England.'—' Are you a merchant or a man-of-war?'—' We are of the sea!' —He waves us to lee-ward with his drawne sword; calls amaine for the King of Spaine, and springs his loufe.—Give him a chase-peece, with your broadside, and run a good berth a-head of him.—Done, done. We have the wind of him, and he tackes about. Tacke you about also, and keep your loufe. Be yare, at the helme; edge in with him; give him a volley of small shot; also

your prow and broadside as before, and keep your loufe.—Hee pays us shot for shot. Well, wee shall requite him.—What! are you ready againe?—Yea, yea!—Try him once more as before. —Done, done.—Keepe your loufe, and lodge your ordnance againe. Is all ready?—Yea, yea! Edge in with him againe: begin with your bow peeces; proceed with your broadside, and let her fall off with the wind, to give her also your full chase, your weather broadside, and bring her round, that the sterne may also discharge; and your tackes close aboard againe.—Done, done.— The wind veeres; the sea goes too high to board her, and we are shot thorow and thorow, and betweene wind and water. Try the pump; beare up the helme.

"Master! let us breathe and refresh a little; and sling a man over board to stop the leakes, (that is, to trusse him up, about the middle, in a peece of canvas, and a rope to keepe him from sinking; and his armes at liberty, with a mallet in the one hand, and a plug tapped in oakum, and well tarred in a tarpawling clout, in the other, which he will quickly beat into the hole or holes the bullets made.) 'What cheere, mates?' is all well?—'All well! all well! all well!'—'Then make ready to beare up with him againe, and with all your great and small shot charge him; and, in the smoke, board him thwart the hawse, on the bow, mid-ships, or, rather than faile, on his quarter; or make fast your grapplings, if you can, to his close fight, and sheere off.—Captaine! we are fowle on each other, and the ship is on fire. Cut any thing to get cleare, and smother the fire with wet cloathes.—In such a case, they will presently be such friends, as to help one the other all they can to get cleare, lest they both should burne together and sinke; and, if they be generous, the fire quenched, drinke kindly one to the other, heave their cans overboard, and then begin againe as before.[1]

"Well, master, the day is spent, the night drawes on; let us consult. Chirurgion, looke to the wounded; and winde up the slaine, with each a weight or bullet at their heads and feet to make them sinke; and give them three gunnes for their funerals. Swabber, make cleane the ship. Purser, record their names. Watch, be vigilant to keepe your berth to wind-ward, that we lose

[1] This was the period of which Lord Clarendon (who knew about as much of sea-service as a boatswain knows of equity-law) affirms, that the sea-captain's "*principal art was to keep his ship and his men out of danger, that he might be "sure to come home safe again.*"—See above, vol. i. p. 411.

him not in the night. Gunners, sponge your ordnance. Soldiers, scowre your peeces. Carpenters, about your leakes. Boatswaine and the rest, repaire the sailes and shrouds; and, Cooke, see you observe your directions against the morning watch. 'Boy, halla!'—'Master, halla!' 'Is the kettle boiled?'—'Yea, yea!' Boatswaine, call up the men to prayer, and breakfast.

"Boy! fetch my cellar of bottels: a health to you all, fore and aft.—Courage, my hearts, for a fresh charge. Gunners, beat open the ports, and out with your lower tier; and bring me, from the weather side to the lee, so many peeces as we have ports to beare upon him. Master, lay him aboard, loufe for loufe. Midshipsmen, see the tops and yards well manned with stones, fire-pots, and brasse bales, to throw amongst them before we enter; or, if we be put off, charge them with all your great and small shot. In the smoke, let us enter them in the shrouds, and every squadron at his best advantage; so, sound drums and trumpets; and *Saint George for England!*

"They hang out a flag of truce; hale him amaine; abase (or take in) his flag: strike their sailes, and come aboard with their captaine, purser, and gunner; with their commission, cocket, or bills of loading.—Out goes the boat; they are lanched from the ship's side. Entertaine them with a general cry, '*God save the captaine and all the company!*' with the trumpets sounding. Examine them in particular; and then conclude your conditions, with feasting, freedome, or punishment, as you finde occasion; but always have as much care of their wounded as your owne. And, if there be either young women or aged men, use them nobly; which is ever the nature of a generous disposition. To conclude, if you surprise him, or enter perforce, you may stow the men, rifle, pillage, or sacke, and cry, '*a prise.*'"

"*How to call a Council of War.*

"To call a councell of warre in a fleet. There is your councell of warre, to manage all businesses of import; and the common councell, for matters of small moment. When they would have a meeting, where the admirall doth appoint it; if in the admirall, they hang out a flag in the maine shrouds; if in the vice-admirall, in the fore-shrouds; if in the rear-admirall, in the mizen. If there bee many squadrons, the admirall of each squadron, upon sundry occasions, doth carry in their main-tops, flags of sundry colours;

or else, they are distinguished by severall pendants from the yard's armes. Every night, or morning, they are to come under the lee of the admirall to salute him, and know his pleasure; but no admirall, of any squadron, is to beare his flag in the main-top in the presence of the admirall-generall, except the admirall come aboard of him to councell, to dinner, or collation. And so, any ship else, where he so resideth during that time, is to weare his flag in the maine-top."

"*To order a Navy at Sea.*

"They use to martiall or order those squadrons in rankes, like *maniples*, which is, foure-square; if the wind and sea permits a good berth or distance from each other, that they becalme not one another, nor come not fowle of each other; the Generall commonly in middest, his Vice-Admirall in the front, and his Rear-Admirall in the rear: or otherwise, in a *halfe-moone*, which is, two squadrons like two triangles, for the two hornes, and so the rest of the squadrons behinde each other a good distance; and the Generall in the middest of the halfe-circle, from whence he seeth all his fleet, and sendeth his directions, as he findes occasion, to whom he pleaseth.

"Now, betweene two navies they use often, especially in a harbour or road where they are at anchor, to fill old barkes with pitch, tar, traine-oile, lincet oile, brimstone, rosen, reeds, with dry wood, and such combustible things; sometimes they linke three or four together in the night, and put them adrift as they finde occasion. To passe a fort, some will make both ship and sailes all black; but if the fort keepe but a fire on the other side, and all the peeces point blanke with the fire, if they discharge (at) what is betwixt them and the fire, the shot will hit if the rule bee truly observed; for, when a ship is betwixt the fire and you, shee doth keepe you from seeing it till shee bee past it. To conclude, there is as many stratagems, advantages, and inventions to be used, as you finde occasions; and therefore, experience must be the best tutor."

APPENDIX B.

To Chap. ii. p. 96.

Extract from the Memoirs of Dr. John Wallis, sometime Savillian Professor of Geometry in the University of Oxford, and Chaplain in Ordinary to King Charles II.; prefixed to his Sermons, first printed in 1791, *in* 1 *vol.* 8*vo.*

"About the year 1644, I was one of the secretaries to the Assembly of Divines at Westminster; not from the sitting of that assembly, but some while after. The occasion of that assembly was this: the parliament, which was then (or the prevailing part thereof), engaged in a war with the king, had a great prejudice against the order of bishops, as then it stood — or, rather, not so much against the *order*, as the *men* — occasioned, principally, by some innovations in ceremonies, or super-conformity, introduced and strictly urged within less than twenty years last past, tending, as was conceived, to nearer compliance with popery; or, by some severities of the High-Commission Court and Star-Chamber against persons otherwise conformable, for not complying therein; had resolved upon the abolition of episcopacy as then it stood, or the reformation of it; and, after such a resolution taken, called this assembly, to consult of some other form of government in the place of it. The generality of the English divines, then convened, were conformable episcopal men, and had generally the reputation of pious, orthodox, and religious Protestants; and, excepting the seven Independents (or dissenting brethren, as they are called), I do not know of any Nonconformist amongst them, or who could not, in their judgment, admit of a well-ordered episcopacy; or, at least, as allowable, if not desirable. And they passed not one vote, while I was amongst them, nor, I think, before that time, against the lawfulness of such episcopacy. I know, the Scotch commissioners were zealous for their form of presbytery; but could never prevail upon the assembly to agree therein as a thing necessary, if so much as allowable. The Independents, on the other side, with whom the contest was, were for no united government at all, but for each greater congregation to be independent of itself, without any other ecclesiastical government than that of themselves; being only ac-

countable to the civil magistrate as to the custody of the peace; against whom the assembly was generally unanimous (and the Scots with them), that it was lawful, by the word of God, for divers particular congregations (besides the inspection of their own pastors, or other particular officers) to be united in a joint government over them in common; and those, subordinate to superior synods, provincial and national (which is well enough consistent with episcopal principles): but, whether with or without bishops, they would never determine. And whenever that point was started, the common answer was, that this point came not before them, but was precluded by the instrument of their conventions, which did first declare an abolition of episcopacy, not refer it to their deliberation; and they to suggest somewhat to the parliament, instead of it so abolished; which they did accordingly, without ever declaring against all episcopacy. And this is the true state of that assembly, as to this point; and when they were reputed presbyterians, it was not in the sense of *anti-episcopal*, but of *anti-independents*.

" To this may be objected, their agreement to the covenant (which was before I came among them); but this, if rightly understood or considered, was otherwise. As it was brought from Scotland, it looked that way; being so worded, as to preserve the government of the Church of Scotland, and to reform that of England, so as to bring both to an uniformity. But this would never pass the assembly, but bore a debate of many days; and was so mollified as to *preserve* that of Scotland (not absolutely, but) *against the common enemy*, and to *reform* that of England (not so as it is in Scotland, but) *according to the word of God, and the example of the best reformed churches;* and to endeavour an *uniformity*, which might be as well by reforming that of Scotland, as that of England. And whereas the covenant, as first brought in, was against *popery*, *prelacy*, *heresy*, *prophaneness*, &c., they would by no means be persuaded to admit the word *prelacy*, thus standing absolute; for, though they thought the English episcopacy, as then it stood, not so perfect as not to be capable of reformation, yet, against all *prelacy* they would not engage. At length an expedient (was found) by those of the parliament who were amongst them, viz. that they intended no more than a reformation of the present episcopacy, as it is now in England, with their courts, commissaries, chancellors, and other dependents; and that any considerable alteration, in any of its members or dependents, was an abolition

of such prelacy: which was the occasion of that explication being inserted. '*prelacy*, that is, *church government by bishops, by archbishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, archdeans, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy;*' which, with such interpretation, was at length agreed. For, even those that were the best friends to episcopal government, did think it capable of alteration for the better. I know some have been apt to put another sense upon that explication, but this is the true state of that affair."

APPENDIX C.

No. 1.

"*To his Highness the Lord Protector*[1] *of the three Nations, England, Scotland, and Ireland, together with the adjacent parts thereunto belonging.*

"The humble Remonstrance of George Penn, merchant, containing the tyrannical proceedings of the Spaniards in their Inquisition: as also his own miserable sufferings by many torments upon the rack, and otherwise: as also their accusations of him; together with their sentences upon his person, and confiscation of above ten thousand pounds of his and other men's found in his custody, which he is liable to pay. The attestation of its truth by eye and ear-witnesses I have to present;

[1] This "remonstrance" being without date, and addressed generally to "the protector," it was natural to assume that it had been addressed to *Oliver;* but a letter from the remonstrancer has been found since the first volume was printed, which, by its date (Feb. 1, 1658–9) should make it appear that it was addressed to Richard Cromwell, whose short government may account for its inefficacy. In this letter, addressed to his brother the general, he says, "I have sent you some printed papers, the effect of which God prosper unto us: 30 printed *Remonstrances* goeth herewith — Sir John Percival hath one, his wife's brother had one, and Mr. Gossage (see above, vol. i. p. 20) hath one." It is remarkable that this letter is directed, "*These to his honoured brother*, Sir William Penn, &c., *Macromp;*" yet, it is certain that Sir W. Penn had not been one of Cromwell's knights, of whom a complete catalogue is given in Noble's *House of Cromwell;* I therefore am unable to account for this designation.

the copy of which is annexed to this my humble Remonstrance, which concludes with a petition to your Highness for consideration of my losses and sufferings.

" *His sufferings, both before and after their accusations of him.*

" I, George Penn, merchant, after my living many years in Spain, that is to say, chiefly in Seville, Malaga, Cales, and Sanlucar, in credit and estate, was in the year 1643 apprehended by their officers, at my house in Sanlucar, whose first action, was their ceremony of excommunication of me, body and soul; their second, was the breaking open all my rooms and warehouses, at home and abroad, making seizure as well of all things in my possession, to a nail in the wall, as out of my possession, found by my books, writings, and accounts. Which done, I was embarked from Sanlucar to Seville, and committed to a dungeon some eight feet diameter, as dark as a grave, secured with two doors, and all alone, without ever hearing or seeing any soul but my tormentors or gaoler; by whose hands only I received my allowance, of bread and water, every Monday for the whole week, for the full space of three years, two months, and six days, without knowing my accusation. And in addition to this, I was by their officers tied to the bars of my dungeon-door once a month, for three years' continuance, receiving from them fifty merciless lashes with knotted whip-cords, my old wounds receiving always fresh stripes before their drying up; they intending by it to make me be my own accuser; which I not knowing of what, nor willing though I had known, was at last called and accused by them (as is their custom) of not only my true accusation, but of all the crimes that heretics are guilty of, as opposite to them; which were so many, and so false, that I, to save my own and creditors' estates, denied as well what was as what was not true: for which I was, before all the seven judges, bound upon the rack, where, with unspeakable torments, I was tortured for the space of four hours, forcing me (as at last they did) to confess all their false accusations to be true. This was not sufficient, nor all; for they forced me with fresh prolonged torments, against my conscience, to promise them upon oath to live and die in their religion, and to defend it with my life against all others in the world, upon pain of burning if accused and apprehended. These their aims and ends being tyrannically attained, I was cut from off

the rack, and on a hurdle returned to my dungeon, with admittance of light, as also of their doctors and chirurgeons, to place my joints and cure my wounds, for the odd two months and six days. These are but part of my sufferings of body and afflictions of spirit.

" *The substance of their public accusations of me in the church, for satisfaction to the people, and justification of themselves.*

" First, that I was a most damnable heretic in all things whatsoever, by birth, breeding, and perseverance; and that I confessed but two of the seven sacraments, having among the rest in particular broken that of marriage, by presuming to marry a Romish lady, a subject of theirs, born in Antwerp. Secondly, for endeavouring to dissuade my wife and her sisters from their religion, and so to damn their souls with my own; for which purpose I intended to embark them for England, a land which of all others in the world overfloweth with all sorts of most damnable heresies and disobedience to the see of Rome, besides their being traitors and rebels to their good king. All which, and much more, they witnessed against me, by my life and conversation in many particulars, to the auditors: as, not frequenting their churches, omitting confession, eating of flesh when by them prohibited, discrediting the daily miracles done by their images, denying adoration to them and intercession to saints, believing but in one mediator betwixt God and man (Christ Jesus), undervaluing in it, amongst the rest of saints, the power of the Virgin Mary, whose influence upon her Son, and mercy to sinners he died for, keepeth the world from destroying, in hope one day of its general conversion to the Romish church by her meritorious intercessions. These, with other such like parcels of stuff, was, with their following sentence, proclaimed in the church to thousands of people, for the better justification of their tyranny.

" *Their sentences and confiscations of above ten thousand pounds of mine and my employers, proclaimed by them to the said audience, at the same time, in the said church.*

" After I had, by God's most merciful and miraculous providence, survived many other poor prisoners in my said three years' misery of famine, whippings, darkness, solitude, and lying on the ground; as also passed the rack, and the two months six days' misery under the surgeons' hands, to place my joints and cure my

wounds, I was on a Sunday vested with their most infamous badge called *San Benito*, and in a procession accompanied to church with all the seven judges and their officers, as also hundreds of priests and friars; where their chief secretary ascended into the pulpit, and myself upon a scaffold in the sight of thousands, unto whom was proclaimed their most false accusation of me, my forced confession to them, and their tyrannical sentences against my person and estate, which was as followeth:

"First, a confiscation, to the use of themselves and his majesty, of above ten thousand pounds value in goods, money, plate, jewels, furniture, slaves, horses, and other things seized upon in my house, in warehouses at home and abroad, and aboard of ships in the harbour, without ever paying my creditors or employers with any thing but my person, which was delivered up to their mercy in the common gaol; it being their custom never to surrender back one penny of their seizures, be they right or wrong. Secondly, a sentence of banishment from Spain, and to depart it within three months, upon pain of death if apprehended. Thirdly, a sentence of burning, if accused the second time for the least derogating from their laws and religion. Fourthly, a sentence of divorcement from my wife, and marrying her to a Spaniard, for her better safeguard from me, and securing of her soul from my heretical suggestions. This being done, the Archbishop of Seville, by the inquisitor's permission, took off their excommunication and state of damnation (as to their principles) they had kept me in from the first hour of their apprehending of me; upon which, the multitude brake out with shouts and acclamations, blessing the Virgin Mary for my conversion, and the holy inquisitors for so merciful a sentence as the saving of my body from burning, and my soul from damnation.

"*A Copy of a testimony in my power, given and subscribed by many eminent merchants now resident in London, which were factors in Seville and Sanlucar, and eye-witnesses of the truth of this my Remonstrance.*

"'We, whose names are hereunder written, do testify that we have known George Penn, merchant, many years, as well at home as abroad in Spain, particularly in Sanlucar, where he lived with honour, credit, and good estate, till in the year 1643, at which time he was apprehended by their Inquisition; in which he suffered, to

our knowledge, above three years' afflictions in his person, besides their confiscation of all his own estate, and many other men's in his power, which they gave sentence against in their church publicly, in the presence of thousands, we ourselves being both eye and ear-witnesses of it; as also of their sentence of burning of him, if accused the second time of the least derogation from their religion: besides their separating him from his wife, and banishment from Spain. His estate, in our judgments, and in the general opinion of all that knew him and his honest dealing, was thousands of pounds: the exact sum of any man's estate we cannot express, but it is apparent to our judgments, upon the oath that we are willing to take, that he may with truth and justice give an account, and receive for the reimbursement of his own principal, six thousand pounds, besides near as much more to satisfy his principals' estates in his power confiscated by them, besides his forbearance of it these fourteen years already, together with his lost time, hinderances of employment, and expenses in pretending restoration: wherefore we do in our consciences judge him to deserve from them at least as much more to balance his account. This testimony being by him desired from us, we could not, in justice or Christianity, deny it him. In truth whereof we have hereunto put our hands, and shall, if required, seal it with our oaths.

" ' John Limbury, Sen.	Martin Westcomb,
William Lant,	John Wilmoth,
Christopher Boon,	William Maston,
James Downes,	Henry Rumble,
Humphrey Holcomb,	Nathaniel Johnson,
William Waring,	Isaac Hercules.

" ' London, Dec. 24, 1647.'

" In addition to these, I will, if required, present many more that were then resident in Seville, and for the most part both eye and ear-witnesses of my misery.

" The premises considered, I do most humbly petition your Highness and most Honourable Council to take these my lamentable sufferings, together with their confiscations of mine and my friends' estates, into your pious considerations; and that, upon producing the original testimony of it, your Highness would appoint a way for mine and my friends' relief from that state; which I wholly assign unto my brother,

General WILLIAM PENN, or his assigns, as my chief creditor, and only solicitor to your Highness for this great piece of justice: and, in the meantime, I humbly desire an order for some considerable employment against that nation, equivalent to my long experience and abilities to serve your Highness in any thing concerning the affairs of Spain, which I have experienced, and run through, for these forty years, both by sea and land.

"And your petitioner shall pray, &c."

No. 2.

"*The Case of William Penn, Esq. executor of the last Will and Testament of his father, Sir William Penn, Knight, deceased, the only brother and executor of Mr. George Penn, deceased.*

(Presented to her majesty Queen Anne, during the negotiations for peace at Utrecht, 1712–1713.)

"Mr. George Penn being bred a merchant, married a gentlewoman of Antwerp, of the Roman Catholic religion; and afterwards, living with her at St. Lucar, in Spain, was, in the year 1643, accused of being a heretic, and endeavouring to seduce his wife and her sisters from their religion; and, under that pretence, was excommunicated, and all his money, plate, goods, merchandises, and effects, to the value of above 12,000*l.*, were seized and confiscated, and he sent prisoner to Seville, where he was committed to, and lay in a dark dungeon for three years, and fed with bread and water only; whipped once a month; racked four hours together by repeated torments; forced to abjure his religion to save his life; and then his wife was divorced from him, and married to a Spaniard.

"That upon the restoration of the royal family, Mr. George Penn made his complaint of this barbarous usage to King Charles the Second, offering to prove the truth thereof by several witnesses then living, and a certificate under the hands of twelve merchants, who were factors in Seville and St. Lucar, at the time of Mr. George Penn's seizure and imprisonment; wherein they proposed to make oath, that his money, goods, and other effects above-men-

tioned, amounted to about 12,000*l.*; and that the loss and damage he had otherwise sustained thereby, amounted to as much more.

"That thereupon, King Charles the Second, out of compassion and justice to Mr. George Penn, appointed him envoy to reside at the King of Spain's court, in order to, and with commands that he should, insist upon satisfaction from that king, for his sufferings, loss, and damage. But Mr. George Penn, being then about sixty-three years of age, was prevented of going thither by his sudden death; and there hath not since been so favourable an opportunity of reviving that demand, equal to what her present majesty, upon her giving peace to Europe in general, and to that kingdom in particular, now hath in her hands, of demanding right to be done her subjects for any injury done to them.

"That the sole right to Mr. George Penn's estate being vested in Mr. William Penn, he hath petitioned her majesty to direct such minister as shall be sent to the King of Spain, to insist upon that king making full satisfaction, and payment for the loss, barbarous usage, and damage sustained by Mr. George Penn, with interest from the year 1643 to this time."

APPENDIX D.

English Attack on the Spanish Armada of 1588.[1]

From Purchas's Pilgrims, vol. vi. p. 1900–1905.

"There were in this army 130 ships, of 57,868 tons; 19,295 soldiers, 8450 marines, 2088 slaves, and 2630 great pieces of brass, of all sorts. —

[1] *The English Fleet, in* 1588.

From Sir Wm. Monson's Naval Tracts, in Churchill's Collections, p. 149.

(The force of the guns, is assigned from the same author's table of "such ships as H. M. left at her death," p. 168.)

	Tons.	Guns.
The *Ark Royal*, the Lord Charles Howard, lord-admiral	800	32
Revenge, Sir Francis Drake, vice-ad.		
Victory, Sir John Hawkins, rear-ad.	800	32
Lion, the Lord Thomas Howard	500	30
Bear, the Lord Sheffield	900	40
Elizabeth Jones, Sir Robert Southwell	900	40
Triumph, Sir Martin Forbisher	1000	40
Hope, Captain Cross	800	30

"The 20th July they passed by Plymouth, which the English pursuing and getting the wind of them, gave them the chase and the encounter, and so both fleets frankly exchanged their bullets. The day following, which was the 21st of July, the English ships approached within musket shot of the Spanish; at what time the Lord Charles Howard most hotly and valiantly discharged his ordnance upon the Spanish vice-admiral. The Spaniards then, well perceiving the nimbleness of the English ships in discharging upon the enemy on all sides, gathered themselves close into the form of a half-moon, and slackened their sails, lest they should outgo any of their company. And while they were proceeding on in this manner, one of their great galliasses was so furiously battered with shot, that the whole navy was fain to come up rounder together, for the safeguard thereof; whereby it came to pass, that the principal gallion of Seville, (wherein Don Pedro de Valdez, Vasques

	Tons.	Guns.
The *Bonaventure*, Captain Reyman	600	30
Dreadnought, Captain G. Beeston	400	20
Nonpareille, Captain G. Fenner	500	30
Swiftsure, Captain William Fenner	400	20
Rainbow, the Lord Henry Seymour	500	30
Vauntgard, Sir William Wentworth		
Mary Rose, Captain Fenton	600	30
Antelope, Sir H. Palmer	350	16
Foresight, Captain Baker	300	16
Aid, Captain John Wentworth		
Swallow, Captain Richard Hawkins	330	16
Tiger, Captain William Wentworth	200	12
Scout, Captain Ashley	120	8
Bull		
Tramontany		
Acatice		8
Charles, pinnace, Captain Roberts	70	6
Moon, Captain Clifford	60	5
Spy, Captain Bradbury	50	5
Noy,		

"In the year 1588," says an author quoted by Sir W. Monson, "there was "not above 120 sail of men-of-war to encounter that invincible armada of Spain, "and not above five of them all, except the queen's great ships, were 200 tons "burden, and did not exceed those rates in all Queen Elizabeth's time; so that "our seamen were, by their experience and courage, rather the cause of our "victories, than the ships." To that innate courage, the English seaman began to superadd tactical skill, in the first Dutch war; to which period, Lord Clarendon is pleased to assign the origin of his courage.

de Silva, Alonzo de Sayas, and other noblemen, were embarked), falling foul of another ship, had her foremast broken, and by that means was not able to keep way with the Spanish fleet; neither would the said fleet stay to succour it, but left the distressed gallion behind. The lord-admiral of England, when he saw this ship of Valdez, and thought she had been void of mariners and soldiers, taking with him as many ships as he could, passed by it; that he might not lose sight of the Spanish fleet that night. For, Sir Francis Drake (who was notwithstanding appointed to bear out his lantern that night), was giving of chase unto five great hulks which had separated themselves from the Spanish fleet: but finding them to be easterlings, he dismissed them. The lord-admiral all that night following the Spanish lantern instead of the English, found himself in the morning to be in the midst of his enemy's fleet; but when he perceived it, he cleanly conveyed himself out of that great danger.

"The day following, which was the 22d of July, Sir Francis Drake espied Valdez his ship, whereunto he sent for his pinnace, and being advertised that Valdez himself was there, and four hundred and fifty persons with him, he sent him word that he should yield himself. Valdez, for his honour's sake, caused certain conditions to be propounded unto Drake; who answered Valdez, that he was not now at leisure to make any long parley, but if he would yield himself, he should find him friendly and tractable; howbeit, if he had resolved to die in fight, he should prove Drake to be no dastard. Upon which answer, Valdez and his company understanding that they were fallen into the hands of fortunate Drake, being moved with the renown and celebrity of his name, with one consent yielded themselves, and found him very favourable unto them. Then Valdez, with forty or fifty noblemen and gentlemen pertaining unto him, came on board Sir Francis Drake's ship. The residue of his company were carried into Plymouth, where they were detained a year and a half for their ransom.

"Valdez coming unto Drake, and humbly kissing his hand, protesting unto him that he and his had resolved to die in battle, had they not by good fortune fallen into his power, whom they knew to be right courteous and gentle, and whom they had heard, by general report, to be most favourable unto his vanquished foe; insomuch, that, he said, it was to be doubted whether his enemy had more cause to admire and love him for his great, valiant, and

prosperous exploits, or to dread him for his singular felicity and wisdom, which ever attended upon him in the wars, and by the which he had attained unto so great honour. With that, Drake embraced him, and gave him very honourable entertainment; feeding him at his own table, and lodging him in his cabin. Here, Valdez began to recount unto Drake the forces of all the Spanish fleet, and how four mighty gallies were separated by tempest from them; and also, how they were determined, first, to have put into Plymouth haven, not expecting to be repelled thence by the English ships, which they thought could by no means withstand their impregnable forces, persuading themselves that, by means of their huge fleet, they were become lords and commanders of the main ocean. For which cause they marvelled much how the Englishmen, in their small ships, durst approach within musket shot of the Spaniards mighty wooden castles, gathering the wind of them, with many other such like attempts. Immediately after, Valdez and his company (being a man of principal authority in the Spanish fleet, and being descended of one and the same family with that Valdez which, in the year 1574, besieged Leyden in Holland), were sent captives into England. There were, in the said ship, fifty-five thousand ducats in ready money of the Spanish king's gold, which the soldiers merrily shared among themselves.

"The same day, was set on fire one of their greatest ships, being admiral of the squadron of Guipusco, and being the ship of Michael de Oquendo, vice-admiral of the whole fleet, which contained great store of gunpowder, and other warlike provision; the upper part only of this ship was burnt, and all the persons therein contained (except a very few) were consumed with fire. And thereupon it was taken by the English, and brought into England, with a number of miserable burnt and scorched Spaniards. Howbeit, the gunpowder (to the great admiration of all men) remained whole and unconsumed.

"In the mean season, the lord-admiral of England, in his ship called the *Ark-royal*, all that night pursued the Spaniards so near, that in the morning he was almost left alone in the enemy's fleet; and it was four of the clock in the afternoon, before the residue of the English fleet could overtake him. At the same time, Hugo de Moncada, governor of the four galliasses, made humble suit unto the Duke of Medina, that he might be licensed to encounter the admiral of England; which liberty the duke thought

not good to permit unto him, because he was loath to exceed the limits of his commission and charge.

" Upon Tuesday, which was the 23d of July, the navy being come over against Portland, the wind began to turn northerly, insomuch that the Spaniards had a fortunate and fit gale to invade the English. But the Englishmen having lesser and nimbler ships, recovered again the vantage of the wind from the Spaniards, whereat the Spaniards seemed to be more incensed to fight than before. But, when the English fleet had continually and without intermission, from morning to night, beaten and battered them with all their shot both great and small, the Spaniards uniting themselves, gathered their whole fleet close together into a roundell; so that it was apparent that they meant not as yet to invade others, but only to defend themselves, and to make haste unto the place prescribed unto them, which was near unto Dunkirk, that they might join forces with the Duke of Parma, who was determined to have proceeded secretly with his small ships under the shadow and protection of the great ones, and so had intended circumspectly to perform the whole expedition.

" This was the most furious and bloody skirmish of all, in which the lord-admiral of England continued fighting amidst his enemy's fleet; and seeing one of his captains afar off, he spake unto him in these words: ' Oh George! what doest thou? Wilt thou now frustrate my hope and opinion conceived of thee? Wilt thou forsake me now?' With which words he being inflamed, approached forthwith, encountered the enemy, and did the part of a most valiant captain. His name was George Fenner, a man that had been conversant in many sea-fights. In this conflict there was a certain great Venetian ship, with other small ships, surprised and taken by the English.

" The English navy in the meanwhile increased, whereunto, out of all the havens of the realm, resorted ships and men; for they all, with one accord, came flocking thither as unto a set field, where immortal fame and glory was to be attained, and faithful service to be performed unto their prince and country. In which number there were many great and honourable personages, as namely, the Earls of Oxford, of Northumberland, of Cumberland, &c., with many knights and gentlemen; to wit, Sir Thomas Cecill, Sir Robert Cecill, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir William Hatton, Sir Horatio Palavicini, Sir Henry Brooke, Sir Robert Carew, Sir Charles

Blunt, Master Ambrose Willoughbie, Master Henry Nowell, Master Thomas Gerard, Master Henry Dudley, Master Edward Darcie, Master Arthur Gorge, Master Thomas Woodhouse, M. William Harvie, &c. And so it came to pass, that the number of the English ships amounted unto an hundred; which, when they were come before Dover, were increased to an hundred and thirty, being, notwithstanding, of no proportionable bigness to encounter with the Spaniards, except two or three-and-twenty of the queen's greater ships, which only, by reason of their presence, bred an opinion in the Spaniards' minds concerning the power of the English fleet; the mariners and soldiers whereof were esteemed to be twelve thousand.

"The 24th of July, when as the sea was calm, and no wind stirring, the fight was only between the four great galliasses and the English ships; which, being rowed with oars, had great advantage of the English ships, which, notwithstanding for all that, would not be forced to yield, but discharged their chain shot to cut asunder their cables and cordage of the galliasses, with many other such stratagems. They were now constrained to send their men on land for a new supply of gunpowder, whereof they were in great scarcity, by reason they had so frankly spent the greater part in the former conflicts. The same day a council being assembled, it was decreed that the English fleet should be divided into four squadrons; the principal whereof was committed unto the lord-admiral; the second to Sir Francis Drake; the third to Captain Hawkins; the fourth to Captain Forbisher.

"The Spaniards in their sailing observed very diligent and good order, sailing three and four, and sometimes more ships in a rank, and following close up one after another, and the stronger and greater ships protecting the lesser.

"The 25th of July, when the Spaniards were come over against the Isle of Wight, the lord-admiral of England being accompanied with his best ships, (namely, the *Lion*, captain whereof was the Lord Thomas Howard; the *Elizabeth Jonas*, under the command of Sir Robert Southwell, son-in-law unto the lord-admiral; the *Bear*, under the Lord Sheffield, nephew unto the lord-admiral; the *Victory*, under Captain Barker; and the galeon *Leicester*, under the forenamed Captain George Fenner), with great valour and dreadful thunder of shot, encountered the Spanish admiral, being in the very midst of all his fleet; which, when the Spaniards per-

ceived, being assisted with his strongest ships, he came forth and entered a terrible combat with the English; for they bestowed each on other the broadsides, and mutually discharged all their ordnance, being within one hundred or an hundred and twenty yards one of another. At length the Spaniards hoisted up their sails, and again gathered themselves up close into the form of a roundell. In the meanwhile, Captain Forbisher had engaged himself into a most dangerous conflict: whereupon the lord-admiral coming to succour him, found that he had valiantly and discreetly behaved himself, and that he had wisely and in good time given over the fight, because that after so great a battery he had sustained no damage. For which cause the day following, being the 26th of July, the lord-admiral rewarded him with the order of knighthood, together with the Lord Thomas Howard, the Lord Sheffield, Master John Hawkins, and others.

"The 27th of July, the Spaniards about the sun-setting were come over against Dover, and rode at anchor within the sight of Calais, intending to hold on for Dunkirk; expecting there to join with the Duke of Parma his forces, without which they were able to do little or nothing. Likewise, the English fleet following up hard upon them, anchored just by them within culverin shot. And here the Lord Henry Seymer united himself unto the lord-admiral with his fleet of thirty ships, which rode before the mouth of the Thames.

"As the Spanish navy therefore lay at anchor, the Duke of Medina sent certain messengers unto the Duke of Parma, with whom, upon that occasion, many noblemen and gentlemen went to refresh themselves on land; and amongst the rest, the Prince of Ascoli, being accounted the king's base son, and a very proper and towardly young gentleman, to his great good went on shore, who was by so much the more fortunate, in that he had not opportunity to return on board the same ship out of which he was departed, because that, in returning home, it was cast away upon the Irish coast, with all the persons contained therein. The Duke of Parma being advertised of the Spanish fleet's arrival upon the coast of England, made all the haste he could to be present himself in this expedition for the performance of his charge; vainly persuading himself that now, by the means of Cardinal Allen, he should be crowned King of England; and for that cause he had resigned the government of the Low Countries unto Count Mansfeld the elder. And having made his vows unto Saint Mary of Hall, in Henault,

(whom he went to visit for his blind devotion's sake), he returned towards Bruges, the 28th of July. The next day, travelling to Dunkirk, he heard the thundering ordnance of either fleet; and the same evening, being come to Dixmude, he was given to understand the hard success of the Spanish fleet.

" Upon Tuesday, which was the 30th of July, about high noon, he came to Dunkirk, when as all the Spanish fleet was now passed by; neither durst any of his ships in the mean space come forth to assist the said Spanish fleet, for fear of five-and-thirty warlike ships of Holland and Zealand, which there kept watch and ward under the conduct of the Admiral Justin of Nassau. The foresaid five-and-thirty ships were furnished with most cunning mariners and old expert soldiers, amongst the which were twelve hundred musketeers, whom the States had chosen out of all their garrisons, and whom they knew to have been heretofore experienced in sea-fights. This navy was given especially in charge, not to suffer any ship to come out of the haven, nor to permit any zabraes, pataches, or other small vessels of the Spanish fleet, (which were more likely to aid the Dunkirkers), to enter thereinto; for, the greater ships were not to be feared, by reason of the shallow sea in that place. Howbeit, the Prince of Parma his forces being as yet unready, were not come on board his ships, only the English fugitives, being seven hundred in number, under the conduct of Sir William Stanley, came in fit time to have been embarked, because they hoped to give the first assault against England. The residue shewed themselves unwilling and loath to depart, because they saw but a few mariners, who were by constraint drawn into this expedition; and also, because they had very bare provision of bread, drink, and other necessary victuals. Moreover, the ships of Holland and Zealand stood continually in their sight, threatening shot and powder, and many inconveniences unto them; for fear of which ships, the mariners and seamen secretly withdrew themselves, both by day and night, lest that the Duke of Parma his soldiers should compel them by main force to go on board, and to break through the Hollander's fleet, which all of them judged to be impossible, by reason of the straitness of the haven.

" But it seemeth, that the Duke of Parma and the Spaniards grounded upon a vain and presumptuous expectation, that all the ships of England and of the Low Countries would, at the first sight of the Spanish and Dunkirk navy, have betaken themselves to

flight; yielding them sea-room, and endeavouring only to defend themselves, their havens, and sea-coasts from invasion. Wherefore their intent and purpose was, that the Duke of Parma, in his small and flat-bottomed ships, should, as it were, under the shadow and wings of the Spanish fleet, convey over all his troops, armour, and warlike provision, and with their forces so united, should invade England; or, while the English fleet were busied in fight against the Spanish, should enter upon any part of the coast which he thought to be most convenient. Which invasion (as the captives afterwards confessed), the Duke of Parma thought first to have attempted by the river Thames, upon the banks whereof, having at his first arrival landed twenty or thirty thousand of his principal soldiers, he supposed that he might easily have won the city of London; both because his small ships should have followed and assisted his land forces, and also for that the city itself was but meanly fortified and easy to overcome, by reason of the citizens' delicacy and discontinuance from the wars.

"When as, therefore, the Spanish fleet rode at anchor before Calais, to the end they might consult with the Duke of Parma what was best to be done according to the king's commandment and the present state of their affairs, and had now (as we will afterwards declare) purposed, upon the 2d of August, being Friday, with one power and consent, to have put their intended business in practice; the lord-admiral of England, being admonished by her majesty's letters from the court, thought it most expedient, either to drive the Spanish fleet from that place, or at leastwise to give them the encounter; and for that cause, (according to her majesty's prescription), he took forthwith eight of his worst and basest ships which came next to hand, and disburdening them of all things which seemed to be of any value, filled them with gunpowder, pitch, brimstone, and with other combustible and fiery matter, and charging all their ordnance with powder, bullets, and stones, and sent the said ships, upon the 28th of July, being Sunday, about two of the clock after midnight, with the wind and tide, against the Spanish fleet: which, when they had proceeded a good space, being forsaken of the pilots, and set on fire, were directly carried upon the King of Spain's navy; which fire, in the dead of night, put the Spaniards into such a perplexity and horror, (for they feared lest they were like unto those terrible ships which Frederic Jenebelli, three years before, at the siege of Antwerp, had furnished

with gunpowder, stones, and dreadful engines, for the dissolution of the Duke of Parma his bridge, built upon the river of Scheld), that cutting their cables whereon their anchors were fastened, and hoisting up their sails, they betook themselves very confusedly unto the main sea.

" And this sudden confusion, the principal and greatest of the four galliasses, falling foul of another ship, lost her rudder; for which cause, when she could not be guided any longer, she was by the force of the tide cast into a certian shoal upon the shore of Calais, where she was immediately assaulted by divers English pinnaces, hoys, and drumblers. And as they lay battering of her with their ordnance, and durst not board her, the lord-admiral sent thither his long-boat with an hundred choice soldiers, under the command of Captain Amias Preston; upon whose approach, their fellows being more emboldened, did offer to board the galliass, against whom the governor thereof and captain of all the four galliasses, Hugo de Moncada, stoutly opposed himself, fighting by much the more valiantly, in that he hoped presently to be succoured by the Duke of Parma. In the mean season, Moncada, after he had endured the conflict a good while, being hit on the head with a bullet, fell down stark dead, and a great number of Spaniards also were slain in his company. The greater part of the residue leaping overboard into the sea, to save themselves by swimming, were most of them drowned. Howbeit there escaped, among others, Don Anthonio de Manriques, a principal officer in the Spanish fleet, (called by them their *Veador-General*), together with a few Spaniards besides; which Anthonio was the first man that carried certain news of the success of their fleet into Spain. This huge and monstrous galliass, wherein were contained three hundred slaves to tug at the oars, and four hundred soldiers, was in the space of three hours rifled in the same place, and there was found, amongst divers other commodities, 50,000 ducats of the Spanish king's treasure. At length, when the slaves were released out of their fetters, the Englishmen would have set the said ship on fire, which Monsieur Gourdon, the governor of Calais, for fear of the damage which might thereupon ensue to the town and haven, would not permit them to do, but drove them from thence with his great ordnance.

" Upon the 29th of July, in the morning, the Spanish fleet, after the foresaid tumult, having arranged themselves again into order,

were, within sight of Gravelines, most bravely and furiously encountered by the English, where they once again got the wind of the Spaniards, who suffered themselves to be deprived of the commodity of the place in Calais road, and of the advantage of the wind near unto Dunkirk, rather than they would change their array, or separate their forces now conjoined and united together, standing only upon their defence. And albeit there were many excellent and warlike ships in the English fleet, yet scarce were there twenty-two or twenty-three, among them all, which matched ninety of the Spanish ships in bigness, or could conveniently assault them. Wherefore the English ships, using their prerogative of nimble steerage, whereby they could turn and wield themselves with the wind which way they listed, came oftentimes very near upon the Spaniards, and charged them so sore, that now and then they were but a pike's length asunder: and so continually giving them one broadside after another, they dispatched all their shot, both great and small, upon them, spending one whole day, from morning till night, in that violent kind of conflict, until such time as powder and bullets failed them. In regard of which want, they thought it convenient not to pursue the Spaniards any longer, because they had many great vantages of the English, namely, for the extraordinary bigness of their ships, and also for that they were so nearly conjoined, and kept together in so good array, that they could by no means be fought withal one to one. The English thought, therefore, that they had right well acquitted themselves, in chasing the Spaniards first from Calais, and then from Dunkirk, and by that means to have hindered them from joining with the Duke of Parma his forces; and getting the wind of them, to have driven them from their own coasts.

"The Spaniards that day sustained great loss and damage, having many of their ships shot through and through, and they discharged likewise great store of ordnance against the English, who indeed sustained some hinderance, but not comparable to the Spaniards' loss; for they lost not any one ship, or person of account. For, very diligent inquisition being made, the Englishmen, all that time wherein the Spanish navy sailed upon their seas, are not found to have wanted above one hundred of their people: albeit Sir Francis Drake's ship was pierced with shot above forty times, and his very cabin was twice shot through; and, about the conclusion of the fight, the bed of a certain gentleman lying weary thereupon,

was taken quite from under him with the force of a bullet. Likewise, as the Earl of Northumberland and Sir Charles Blunt were at dinner upon a time, the bullet of a demi-culverin broke through the midst of their cabin, touched their feet, and struck down two of the standers by; with many such accidents befalling the English ships, which it were tedious to rehearse. Whereupon it is most apparent, that God miraculously preserved the English nation. For, the lord-admiral wrote unto her majesty, that in all human reason, and according to the judgment of all men (every circumstance being duly considered), the Englishmen were not of any such force whereby they might, without a miracle, dare once to approach within the sight of the Spanish fleet; insomuch that they freely ascribed all the honour of their victory unto God, who had confounded the enemy, and had brought his counsels to none effect.

"The same day, the Spanish ships were so battered with English shot, that that very night and the day following, two or three of them sunk right down: and, among the rest, a certain great ship of Biscay, which Captain Crosse assaulted, which perished even in the time of the conflict, so that very few therein escaped drowning; who reported, that the governors of the said ship slew one another upon the occasion following:—One of them, which would have yielded the ship, was suddenly slain; the brother of the slain party, in revenge of his death, slew the murderer, and in the mean while the ship sunk.

"The same night, two Portugal gallions, of the burthen of seven or eight hundred tons a-piece, to wit, *Saint Philip* and *Saint Matthew*, were forsaken of the Spanish fleet; for they were so torn with shot, that the water entered into them on all sides. In the gallion of *Saint Philip* was Francis de Toledo, brother unto the Count de Argas, being colonel over two-and-thirty bands; besides other gentlemen; who seeing their mast broken with shot, they shaped their course, as well as they could, for the coast of Flanders: whither when they could not attain, the principal men in the ship committing themselves to their skiff, arrived at the next town, which was Ostend; and the ship itself, being left behind with the residue of their company, was taken by the Vlishingers. In the other gallion, called the *Saint Matthew*, was embarked Don Diego Pimentelli, another camp-master and colonel of two-and-thirty bands, being brother unto the Marquess of Tamnares, with many other gentlemen and captains. Their ship was not very great, but

exceeding strong, for, of a great number of bullets which had battered her, there were scarce twenty wherewith she was pierced or hurt: her upper work was of force sufficient to bear off a musket-shot. This ship was shot through, and pierced in the fight before Gravelines, insomuch that the leakage of the water could not be stopped; whereupon the Duke of Medina sent his great skiff unto the governor thereof, that he might save himself and the principal persons that were in his ship: which he, upon a hault courage, refused to do: wherefore, the duke charged him to sail next unto himself; which, the night following, he could not perform, by reason of the abundance of water which entered his ship on all sides; for the avoiding whereof, and to save his ship from sinking, he caused fifty men continually to labour at the pump, though it were to small purpose. And seeing himself thus forsaken, and separated from his admiral, he endeavoured what he could to attain unto the coast of Flanders; where, being espied by four or five men-of-war which had their station assigned them upon the same coast, he was admonished to yield himself unto them; which he refusing to do, was strongly assaulted by them altogether, and his ship being pierced with many bullets, was brought into far worse case than before, and forty of his soldiers were slain. By which extremity he was enforced at length to yield himself unto Peter Banderduess, and other captain, which brought him and his ship into Zealand, and that other ship also last before-mentioned; which, both of them, immediately after the greater and better part of their goods were unladen, sunk right down. For the memory of this exploit, the foresaid Captain Banderduess caused a banner of one of these ships to be set up in the great church of Leyden in Holland, which is of so great a length, that being fastened to the very roof, it reached down to the ground.

"About the same time, another small ship, being by necessity driven upon the coast of Flanders, about Blankenberg, was cast away upon the sands, the people therein being saved. Thus, Almighty God would have the Spaniards' huge ships to be presented, not only to the view of the English, but also of the Zealanders; that, at the sight of them, they might acknowledge, of what small ability they had been to resist such impregnable forces, had not God endued them with courage, providence, and fortitude, yea, and fought for them in many places with his own arm.

"The 29th of July, the Spanish fleet being encountered by the

English (as is aforesaid), and lying close together under their fighting sails, with a south-west wind sailed past Dunkirk, the English ships still following the chase. Of whom the day following, when the Spaniards had got sea-room, they cut their mainsails, whereby they sufficiently declared that they meant no longer to fight, but to fly. For which cause, the lord-admiral of England dispatched the Lord Henry Seymour with his squadron of small ships unto the coast of Flanders, where, with the help of the Dutch ships, he might stop the Prince of Parma his passage, if perhaps he should attempt to issue forth with his army. And he himself, in the mean space, pursued the Spanish fleet until the 2d of August, because he thought they had set sail for Scotland. And albeit he followed them very near, yet did he not assault them any more, for want of powder and bullets. But, upon the 4th of August, the wind arising, when as the Spaniards had spread all their sails, betaking themselves wholly to flight, and, leaving Scotland on the left hand, tended toward Norway (whereby they sufficiently declared that their whole intent was to save themselves by flight, attempting for that purpose, with their battered and crazed ships, the most dangerous navigation of the northern seas), the English, seeing that they were now proceeded unto the latitude of 57 degrees, and being unwilling to participate that danger whereinto the Spaniards plunged themselves, and because they wanted things necessary, and especially powder and shot, returned back for England; leaving behind them certain pinnaces only, which they enjoined to follow the Spaniards aloof, and to observe their course. And so it came to pass, that on the 4th of August, with great danger and industry, the English arrived at Harwich; for they had been tossed up and down with a mighty tempest for the space of two or three days together, which it is likely did great hurt unto the Spanish fleet, being (as I said before) so maimed and battered. The English now going on shore, provided themselves forthwith of victuals, gunpowder, and other things expedient, that they might be ready at all assays to entertain the Spanish fleet, if it chanced any more to return. But being afterward more certainly informed of the Spaniards' course, they thought it best to leave them unto those boisterous and uncouth northern seas, and not there to hunt after them."

APPENDIX E.

No. 1.

Dutch Attack on the Spanish Armada of 1639.

(From RUSHWORTH, vol. iii. p. 968.)

" There appeared upon the English coast a great Spanish armada, discovered first beyond the Land's-end by a fleet of Hollanders, about the 17th of September. The fleet was commanded by Don Antonio d'Oquendo, consisting of about seventy sail of ships; at the first sight, they appeared like the invincible navy in 88. The vice-admiral of Holland, with seventeen good ships, engaged them, yet in a retreating posture, being much too weak for so great a navy: and when he came into the narrow seas, still kept firing of his ordnance upon the enemy, having got the wind of them, with intent not only to annoy them, but to give warning to the Holland admiral, Van Tromp, then lying before Dunkirk with part of the Holland fleet; who, upon the noise of the cannon, weighed anchor, and within few hours, bringing with him eight tall ships, joined with the seventeen sail. And being now twenty-five in number, they resolutely set upon the Spanish fleet, held out a fierce engagement with them most part of that day; took three gallions, sunk one, and shattered the rest; insomuch that the Spaniard, for his better security, betook himself to the Downs near Dover, assuring himself of protection while he lay in the King of England's chamber.

" That night, by the help of an English pilot, the Spaniard sent away sixteen ships with 4000 landmen, who in the dark escaped the Dutch, and got safe to Dunkirk.

" The king sent the Earl of Arundel to the commander of the Spanish fleet for a sight of his commission; and to know the occasion of his coming upon the coast with so great a navy and army, having aboard in number about 20,000 landmen (as the king was informed), besides seamen.

" The Spanish Don returned this answer, that the King of England might be well assured, that there was no evil intention towards him, nor had they any design upon any part of his dominions, for they were only sent with recruits to Dunkirk and Flanders, with money to pay the soldiers there.

" That answer, was all the commission the Spaniard shewed.

" The king afterward desired him, to retreat with the first fair wind; for, that he was in amity with both states, and would not willingly have them engage within his dominion of the seas. Captain (Sir John) Pennington, in the mean time, received orders from his majesty to ride with the royal navy in the Downs, and there to wait the issue of this business.

" Great were the hopes of the Spaniard, to have procured from the King of Great Britain (which was not a little laboured for by the Lord Cottington), that Captain Pennington should be umpire between both parties; and not suffer any further engagement, but fall upon that party that should, without his leave, give the first onset.

" But, those endeavours proved ineffectual; for, the Spaniard having stayed almost a month for a wind to carry him out, the Hollander had in the mean time increased his fleet to almost an hundred sail, and encompassed the Spaniard, without receiving any opposition from Captain Pennington: the Spaniard, in the interim, being supplied from London with powder and other ammunition, in such proportion and quantity as he desired.

" The Hollander, impatient of lying still, and being grown so strong that he seemed as if he cared neither for the English nor Spanish fleet, divided his fleet into squadrons, in order to a fight; which the Spaniard discovering, put himself into the best posture he could to receive him. The encounter was very hot and furious for the time, till the Hollander fastened some fire-ships upon the Spaniard; and so overpowered him with cannon, that at last the Spaniard was forced to shift for himself. About twenty Spanish ships, under the command of the vice-admiral, ran upon the shore, and were stranded; but most of the men got on shore. About five of the Spanish ships were sunk and burnt, whereof one, a great gallion, which was the vice-admiral, and carried fifty pieces of brass ordnance; the rest of the ships, being about thirty in number, put to sea under the command of Don Antonio. The Hollanders made sail after them, firing upon their rear, till a great fog somewhat abated the heat of the pursuit; yet the Hollanders kept so close, as that he continued firing now and then upon the rear of the enemy till the fog cleared up, and then the fight began afresh; and the admiral of Portugal being fired, and divers of the Spaniards taken, Don Antonio, with about ten ships of the fleet, hired an

English pilot, steered a course for Dunkirk, and gained a safe harbour: the rest were taken and sunk."

No. 2.

From Burchett, p. 279.

"In 1639, the Spaniards fitted out a considerable fleet, under the command of Antonio d'Oquendo, consisting of sixty-seven large ships and gallions, manned with five-and-twenty thousand seamen, and having on board twelve thousand landmen, with what design was not then known, but supposed to be to dislodge the Dutch ships from before Dunkirk, and land the troops there for the relief of Flanders and the rest of the Spanish provinces; though Monsieur Puffendorf says, it was afterwards found out to be intended against the Swedes, in favour of the Danes, who, against the arrival of that fleet at Gottenburg, had got ready an army of twenty thousand men to penetrate Sweden on one side, whilst the Spanish troops should land and enter it on the other. However, the Dutch having two or three squadrons at sea, the Spanish fleet, coming up the channel, was met near the straits of Dover by one of them, consisting of seventeen sail, under the command of Harpertz Van Tromp, who, notwithstanding the enemy's great superiority, ventured to attack them; but, finding himself too weak, got to windward, sailing along towards Dunkirk, and continually firing guns, as a signal to the Dutch vice-admiral who lay off that place to come to his assistance, who accordingly joined him the next morning, between Dover and Calais; where, engaging the Spaniards, a very sharp fight ensued between them, which lasted several hours, wherein the Dutch had greatly the advantage; and having taken one gallion, sunk another, and much shattered the rest, at length forced them upon the English coast, near Dover. This done, Tromp, being in want of powder and ball, stood away for Calais, to borrow some of the governor of that place; who presently supplying him with what he demanded, he returned again to Dover: upon whose approach the Spaniards got within the South Foreland, and put themselves under the protection of the neighbouring castles.

"The two fleets continuing in this posture for many days

observing each other, the ministers of both nations were not less employed in watching each other's motions at Whitehall, and encountering one another with memorials. The Spanish resident importuned the king, that he would keep the Hollander in subjection two tides, that so, in the interim, the others might have the opportunity of making away for Spain; but, the king being in amity with them both, was resolved to stand neuter: and, whereas the Spaniards had hired some English ships to transport their soldiers to Dunkirk, upon complaint made thereof by the Dutch ambassador, strict orders were given, that no ships or vessels belonging to his majesty's subjects should take any Spaniards on board, or pass below Gravesend without license. However, after great plotting and counterplotting on both sides, the Spaniard at length somewhat outwitted his enemy, and found means, by a stratagem, in the night to convey away through the Downs, round by the North-Sand Head and the back of the Goodwin, twelve large ships to Dunkirk, and in them four thousand men; in excuse of which gross neglect of the Dutch admirals, in leaving that avenue from the Downs unguarded, the Dutch accounts say, they were assured by the English that no ships of any considerable burthen could venture by night to sail that way.

"The two fleets had now continued in their station near three weeks, when King Charles sent the Earl of Arundel to the admiral of Spain, to desire him to retreat upon the first fair wind; but, by this time, the Dutch fleet was, by continual reinforcements from Zealand and Holland, increased to a hundred sail; and seeming disposed to attack their enemies, Sir John Pennington, admiral of his majesty's fleet, who lay in the Downs with four-and-thirty men-of-war, acquainted the Dutch admiral, that he had received orders to act in defence of either of the two parties who should be first attacked. The Spaniards, however, growing too presumptuous on the protection they enjoyed, a day or two after fired some shot at Van Tromp's barge, when he was himself in her; and killed a man with a cannon-ball on board one of the Dutch ships, whose dead body was presently sent on board to Sir John Pennington, as a proof that the Spaniards were the first aggressors, and had violated the neutrality of the King of England's harbour. Soon after which, the Dutch admiral came to a resolution of attacking the Spaniards; but, before he put it in execution, he thought fit to write to Admiral Pennington, telling him that the Spaniards having, in the instances

before mentioned, infringed the liberties of the king's harbour, and become the aggressors, he found himself obliged to retaliate force with force, and attack them; in which, pursuant to the declaration he had made to him, he not only hoped for, but depended on, his assistance: which, however, if he should not be pleased to grant, he prayed the favour that he would at least give him leave to engage the enemy, otherwise he should have just cause of complaint to all the world of so manifest an injury.

"This letter being delivered to the English admiral, Van Tromp bore up to the Spaniards in six divisions, and charged them so furiously with his broadsides and his fire-ships, as forced them all to cut their cables; and being three-and-fifty in number, twenty-three ran ashore and stranded in the Downs, whereof three were burnt, two sunk, and two perished on the shore; one of which was a great gallion (the vice-admiral of Gallicia), commanded by Antonio de Castro, and mounted with fifty-two brass guns. The remainder of the twenty-three, stranded; and, deserted by the Spaniards, were manned by the English, to save them from the Dutch. The other thirty Spanish ships, with Don Antonio d'Oquendo, the commander-in-chief, and Lopez, admiral of Portugal, got out to sea, and kept in good order, till a thick fog arising, the Dutch took advantage thereof, interposed between the admirals and their fleet, and fought them valiantly till the fog cleared up, when the admiral of Portugal began to flame, being fired by two Dutch ships fitted for that purpose; which d'Oquendo perceiving, presently stood away for Dunkirk, with the admiral of that place, and some few ships more: for, of these thirty, five were sunk in the fight, eleven taken and sent into Holland, three perished upon the coast of France, one near Dover, and only ten escaped."

APPENDIX F.

As the armorial distinction conferred by Charles I. on Martin Tromp is not recorded in the Herald's College, and as it is only to be found in the voluminous work of Rymer, I shall insert it here.

"*De Additamento Armorum concesso Martino Trompe.*

"Carolus, Dei gratiâ, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ, et Hiberniæ Rex, fidei defensor, &c.: universis et singulis regibus,

principibus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, proceribus, dominis et nobilibus quibuscunque, ad quos præsentes literæ pervenerint, salutem:

" Quod reges excelsa rerum ad fastigia præ ceteris evecti sint, non aliam magis ob causam factum arbitramur, quam ut Divini Numinis (cujus sub imperio principes populique juxta considunt) justitiam imitentur. Supremus omnium Dominus, ut pœnas ob scelera, ita præmia virtutum, illas malitiæ retinacula, hæc probitatis incentiva, æquâ manu mortalibus impendit; nos itaque eum summi mundi Rectoris ordinem, vigili quà decet mente, suspicientes, ejusque exemplar ut effingaretur regimen nostrum sedulo adnitentes, viros eximios de nobis, rebusque publicis præclare meritos, debito favore prosequendos, et juxta rerum à se gestarum conditionem, justis honoribus decorandos esse judicamus.

" Cum igitur egregius vir Dominus Martinus Trompe, Belgiâ oriendus, vicemque admiralli sub potentissimis Unitarum Provinciarum Belgiæ ordinibus sustinens, non solum ob res summâ prudentiâ, fide, ac fortitudine à se gestas, nomen famamque suam longè latèque dilataverit, sed nos insuper et subditos nostros singulari quodam studio et affectu prosequutus fuerit; nos, ut nostræ erga ipsum benevolentiæ duraturum aliquod et notabile indicium extet apud posteros, præterquam quod eundem Dominum Martinum Trompe in equestrem ordinem adsciverimus, eumque equitem auratum solenni more fecerimus ac creaverimus, scutum ulterius armorum præfati Domini Martini Tromp, de plenitudine regiæ nostræ potestatis ac favoris, supportatoribus, prout hic inferius memoratur et in margine præsentium depictum cernitur, insignivimus et decoravimus; viz. Duobus graphis cum alis explicatis de auro, quorum uterque in scuto de argento à collo in balteo ceruleo pendenti, rosam rubram argenteâ repletam gestat.

" Volentes et concedentes, quod idem Dominus Martinus Trompe, et hæredes sui de corpore suo legitimè procreati seu procreandi, prædictos supportatores, et cetera præmissa omnia, ut prædictum est, liberè gestare ac uti possint et valeant imperpetuum.

" In cujus rei, &c.

" Teste rege apud Eboracum, vicessimo die Maii, 1642, anno regni nostri decimo octavo.

" Per ipsum regem propriâ manu signatum."[1]

[1] RYMER's *Fœdera*, vol. xx. p. 522.

(TRANSLATION.)

" *Of the Armorial Augmentation granted to Martin Tromp.*

" CHARLES, by the grace of God, of Great Britain, France, and Ireland king, defender of the faith, &c., to all and separate kings, princes, dukes, marquesses, earls, barons, governors, lords and nobles whatsoever, to whom these letters may come, greeting :

" We hold it for our opinion, that kings are exalted above all other men to their pre-eminent stations for no greater cause, than that they may imitate the justice of the Divine power, to whose authority princes and nations are equally subjected. The supreme Lord of all things has assigned to mortals, with an equal hand, both penalties to crimes, and rewards for virtues; the first, as restraints on evil, the second as incentives to goodness. We, therefore, duly and watchfully observing that ordinance of the Ruler of the world, and carefully striving that the rule of our government may be conformed to his example, have judged it meet, that persons eminently distinguished and deserving amongst us for their public services, should experience our due favour, and be adorned with just honours, according to the quality of the actions they have performed.

" And whereas that eminent man, the Lord Martin Tromp, a native of Belgia (*Holland*), and exercising the office of admiral under the most powerful United Provinces of Belgia, has not only spread his name far and wide by the consummate wisdom, fidelity, and valour of his actions, but has, moreover, testified his regard for us and for our subjects with extraordinary zeal and affection; we therefore, in order that some lasting and notable mark of our good-will towards him may remain with posterity, over and above that by which we conferred upon him the order of knighthood, and solemnly created him a knight, through the plenitude of our royal authority and grace, have further distinguished the shield of arms of the aforesaid Martin Tromp with supporters, as is hereinafter described, and as is seen painted in the margin of these presents; namely, Two golden griffins with expanded wings, each of which bears, on a silver shield suspended from the neck by a blue riband, a red rose enclosing an argent (*or white*) one.

" Willing, and granting, that the said Lord Martin Tromp, and the heirs of his body lawfully begotten, or to be begotten, may

freely wear, and for ever use, the aforesaid supporters, and all other things hereinbefore mentioned.

" In testimony whereof, &c.

" Witness, the king, at York, the twentieth day of May, 1642, in the eighteenth year of our reign.

" Signed with the king's own hand."

APPENDIX G.

No. 1.

" *Articles of the four several Treaties with Holland, of* 1654, 1662, 1667, *and* 1674, *conceding the honour of the Flag.*

" **Westminster, 5° April. 1654.**

" 13. Item, quod naves et navigia dictarum Fœderatarum Provinciarum, tam bellica et ad hostium vim propulsandam instructa, quàm alia, quæ alicui è navibus bellicis *hujus reipublicæ* in maribus Britannicis obviam dederint, vexillum suum è mali vertice detrahent, et supremum velum demittent, eo modo, quo ullis retrò temporibus, sub quocunque anteriori regimine, unquam observatam fuit."—(*Recueil des Traités*, tom. iii. p. 648. Amst. 1700. fol.)

" **Whitehall, 14° Sept. 1662: Breda, 31° Jul. 1667.**

" 10, et 19. Item, quod naves et navigia dictarum Fœderatarum Provinciarum, tam bellica et ad hostium vim propulsandam instructa, quàm alia, quæ alicui è navibus bellicis *dicti Domini Regis Magnæ Britanniæ* in maribus Britannicis obviam dederint, vexillum suum è mali vertice detrahent, et supremum velum demittent, eo modo quo ullis retrò temporibus unquam observatam fuit."—(*Ib.* tom. iv. p. 46, and 213.)

" *Demandes et Conditions sous lesquelles Charles II, Roi d'Angleterre, consentiroit de faire la paix avec les Etats Généraux des Provinces Unies. Faites en* 1672.

" 1°. Le Roi d'Angleterre entend que les Hollandois lui cédent l'honneur du pavillon, sans aucune contradiction, voire même, que leurs flottes entières abaissent le pavillon, et abattent le *mâts de hune* pour un seul navire Anglois, portant le pavillon de sa majesté, dans toute la mer Britannique, jusque sur les côtes de Hollande."—(*Ib.* tom. iv. p. 311.)

" Westminster, 9–19th Feb. 1674.

" IV. — Prædicti ordines generales Unitarum Provinciarum, debitè, ex parte suâ, agnoscentes jus supra memorati Domini Magnæ Britanniæ Regis, ut vexillo suo in maribus infra nominandis honos habeatur, declarabunt et declarant, concordabunt et concordant; quod quæcunque naves et navigia ad præfatas Unitas Provincias spectantia, sive naves bellicæ, sive aliæ, eæque vel singulæ vel in classibus junctæ, in ullis maribus à promontorio *finis terræ* dicto usque ad medium punctum terræ *Van Staten* dictæ in Norwegiâ, quibuslibet navibus aut navigiis ad Sereniss. Dom. Mag. Brit. Regem spectantibus, obviam dederint; sive illæ naves singulæ sint vel in numero majori, si Majest. Brit., sive aplustrum, sive vexillum *Jac* appellatum gerant, prædictæ Unit. Provinc. naves aut navigia, vexillum suum *malivesticæ* detrahentes, supremum velum demittent, eodem modo parique honoris testimonio, quo ullo unquam tempore, aut in alio loco, antehâc usitatum fuit versus ullas Maj. Britan. suæ aut antecessorum suorum naves ab ullis ordinum generalium suorumque antecessorum navibus."—(*Ib.* vol. iv. p. 331.)

No. 2.

(TRANSLATIONS.)

" Treaty of Westminster, 5th April, 1654.

" 13. That the ships and vessels of the said United Provinces, as well those of war as others, which shall meet any of the men-of-war of *this Commonwealth* in the British seas, shall strike their flag, and lower the topsail, in such manner as the same hath ever been observed at any times heretofore, under any other form of government.

" Treaty of Whitehall, 14th Sept. 1662, and of Breda, 21–31st July, 1667.

" 10, and 19. That the ships and vessels of the said United Provinces, as well those of war as others, which shall meet any of the men-of-war of the *said King of Great Britain*, in the British seas, shall strike their flag and lower the topsail, in such manner as the same hath ever been observed at any times heretofore.

" Treaty of Westminster, 9–19th Feb. 1674.

" 4. The said States-General of the United Provinces, duly acknowledging, on their part, the right of the above-mentioned

King of Great Britain, to have honour paid to his flag in the seas to be hereafter named, will and do declare and agree, that all and singular the ships and vessels whatsoever belonging to the said United Provinces, whether ships of war or others, whether single ships or in squadrons, which shall meet any ships or vessels whatsoever belonging to the most serene King of Great Britain, whether one or more, carrying his Britannic Majesty's ensign, or flag called the *Jack*, in any of the seas from the promontory called the *Land's-end*,[1] to the middle point of land in Norway, called *Van Staten*, the foresaid ships or vessels of the United Provinces shall strike their flag, and lower their topsail, in such manner, and with the like testimony of respect, as hath been customary in any time or place heretofore, by any ships of the States-General or their ancestors, to any ships of his Britannic Majesty or his ancestors."

The inconveniences resulting from the honour of the flag, shew themselves in the following letter from the Protector, Richard Cromwell, to General Mountagu :—

" My Lord,

" By your instructions, you are to demand the flag of such foreign ships of war as you shall rencounter in the British seas; upon which some doubt hath been, how far the British seas extend. But not being willing to determine that in our instructions, we rather put, in general terms, the *British seas* only. We judge, there is no question of all the sea on this side of the Shagenriffe, (*Scageriff, north point of Jutland*); on the other side, you have need be tender, and to avoid all disputes of this nature, if it be possible, because war and peace depend on it.

" Your loving friend, &c.[2]

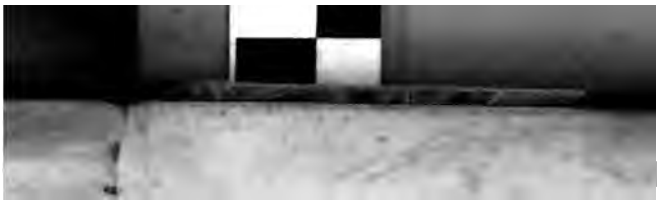
" Whitehall, 18th March, 1658, 9."

In former times, when the northern nations possessed only trading navies, which felt themselves protected against pirates in these narrow seas by the naval power of England, it was reasonable that the protected party should pay a complimentary acknowledg-

[1] In the old translation of this treaty, these words were rendered, by an absurd equivocation, " *from Cape Finisterre*;" in consequence of the original Latin rendering the name " *Land's-end*," by " promontorium *finis terræ* " dictum."

[2] Thurloe, vol. vii. p. 633.

ment to the protector; which was done, by lowering the topsail and striking the flag. But, when those nations began to have ships of force, capable of protecting their own trade, and especially when the seven United Provinces were become an independent state and a naval power, it was equally reasonable that these should wish to discontinue any demonstration of acknowledgment of a protection which they no longer needed; and which, therefore, appeared to them to be only an acknowledgment of dependency. The compliment to the English flag, had hitherto rested wholly on a practice of long prescription; which the English interpreted, to be a perpetual and national right. That interpretation having been at length contested by the Dutch, the object of the article in the treaty of 1653, was to convert the ancient prescription into a formal and positive right, *jure fortioris*.—(See above, vol. i. p. 397.)

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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